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**Human Rights and Democracy
in
South Korea**

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Human Rights and Democracy
in
South Korea

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUREAU
CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE
OF CHONGRYUN

November, 1977

**Views presented here do not necessarily
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**I . The New York Times Magazine:
Park's Coup Aimed to Perpetuate
His Iron Grip on Power**

A recent issue of the New York Times Magazine (Sunday edition) carried a lengthy article expressing a strong criticism of the present Park Jung Hi regime in south Korea as eliminating all vestiges of democracy and hostile toward the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Printed here for the interest of the reader are excerpts.....Ed.

On Oct. 17, 1972, he suspended major portions of the Constitution his own Government had written in 1962. He dissolved the National Assembly, banned all political activity, closed the country's 81 colleges and universities for six weeks and initiated complete media censorship. Subsequently, in a referendum held on Nov. 22 without free discussion and under martial law, he forced through a new Constitution which reduced all democratic institutions to a sham.

Park's coup was totally unjustified by any internal or external condition. It was essentially designed to eliminate criticism and opposition and lengthen indefinitely Park's iron grip on the Government. Some 175 constitutional changes strip the South Korean people of human and civil rights and establish a complete and so far as a constitution can make it so, permanent dictatorship.

The powers of the judiciary have been seriously crippled; judicial review by the Supreme Court has been dropped, habeas corpus abolished. The clause forbidding conviction when evidence has been obtained by torture has been excised. Citizens are subject to arrest without warrants and without the right to ask courts to re-examine the legality of the arrest.

The electoral process and the legislative branch of government have been made a mockery. The new Constitution did create a 2,359-man National Conference for Unification, which is locally elected, but no member can have political affiliations, and it has been chosen virtually without the participation of any opposition party. The National

Assembly is now one-third appointed by the President with the approval of the Conference for Unification, meaning that opposition groups would have to sweep more than three-fourths of the elected seats to win majority. Campaigning by candidates for the Assembly has been severely restricted, the length of its sessions reduced, and its powers of debate, interrogation and legislation greatly curtailed. All local self-government has been indefinitely postponed until after "the unification of the fatherland." Meanwhile Presidential powers have been made almost complete and unchecked.

All this may dishearten Koreans who had hoped to develop a freer and more democratic society, but why should it threaten others? Faded democratic hopes are common enough throughout developing countries. And Korea's democracy was in any case misshaped and dwarfed. Since the army had seized power in 1961, Park and his henchmen had manipulated parties and electioneering and had kept the National Assembly basically in the role of a debating society. The Korean C.I.A. had harassed politicians and common citizens alike, and the courts had been allowed little independence. Corruption was rife and politicians of all stripes showed the same zeal as army generals for monopolizing power and manipulating the economy to their own benefit.

Away from South Korea's major highways, rural poverty is crushing. And in Seoul a young man who may have been edged off a one-acre farm with too many mouths to feed, finds himself in a squatter neighborhood, like some 1.4 million others, living with his wife and baby in an illegal, unlighted shack, too low to stand up in and a back-breaking climb from the communal water spigot.

Until the recent clampdown, students and taxi drivers alike talked of what they would do if they were President. Elections, though partially manipulated, still reflected much popular choice. Opposition candidates, even though severely disadvantaged by governmental surveillance and financial and administrative pressures, got from 46 to 52 per cent of the popular vote in Presidential elections and substantial minorities in the National Assembly. The Assembly, though unimpressive in legislation, was vivid and critical, providing a channel of communication for the people to their Government.

On such a people, the dictatorial yoke will not rest easily. Whatever the successes of the Park regime in some fields, disappointments and resentments will mount in others.

Disillusion will certainly come—it has already begun—over the regime's inability to make promised progress on reunification. In the Assembly elections last February, despite Park's stacking of the system, the two opposition parties won 43 per cent of the votes to 38.2 for the Government party and, non-Government candidates (including independents) won as many elective seats as Government candidates for the first time since the coup of 1961. But now that Park appoints a third of the membership, the opposition is reduced to complete impotency in the Assembly, and the short-term effect of the election is virtually nil.

Although shock over Park's latest coup together with hopes for reunification have kept South Korea relatively calm, it seems inevitable that pressures will mount. Attempts to place a lid on such a boiling pot might succeed in a backward rural society but not in a Korea 90 per cent literate and 50 per cent urbanized. As pressures increase, so will repression. Police arrests will become more arbitrary and secret; torture, now all too easy under the new Constitution, will become more common—in fact, rumors of its greatly increased use are already rampant. The result will be increasing opposition and rising domestic unrest.

When the dictatorship of the aging Syngman Rhee, massive student demonstrations broke out and were turned to revolution by police bullets, thus toppling Rhee's regime. No event in Korea's long political history has reverberated with more popular resonance, with the possible exception of the smaller, less successful uprising against the Japanese in 1919. It seems quite predictable that similar troubles will brew in the months or years ahead—perhaps even among disgruntled elements within the military itself, as is suggested by the dismissal of the Seoul area commander on March 10, on reported charges of contacting North Korean agents. But when the first pictures appear of Korean police and soldiers mowing down students or townsmen, world attention will suddenly shift back to Korea, and the American and Japanese Governments will face unhappy choices.

Already, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is asking why, now that we are out of Vietnam, we still have 40,000 troops in Korea left over from a still earlier war. Americans may stomach the Greek colonels because it is argued that the defense of the whole Mediterranean depends on Greek bases, but there are no comparable grounds for supporting Korean generals. There will be insistent demands to pull out our forces from South Korea and cut off all military aid at once. It is desirable that these steps should be taken in due course, but if taken too abruptly, they might greatly increase the chances of subversion or war in the Korean peninsula.

Civil strife in South Korea would also intensify political pressures in Japan to cut loans to Korea and reduce its massive economic relationship. Both Japanese and American businessmen would become apprehensive about investments there. While South Korea's economy has done extremely well, it remains tremendously dependent on an expanding economic relationship with the United States and Japan. Only a constant inflow of new funds has tided Korea over its continual adverse balance of trade, which was \$1-billion in 1971 and \$720-million last year. If the primary investing and trading countries draw back, the impact on the Korean economy could be disastrous. The big-business props of the Government would falter; unemployment and discontent would grow. Lacking legal outlets, political explosions would become more violent.

2. S. Korea's Sordid Spooks: Newsweek

Following is a gist of a story printed in the Oct. 8, 1973 issue of Newsweek, an American weekly magazine, revealing the draconic colors of the south Korean puppet "Central Intelligence Agency," the mastermind of fascist rule in south Korea.....Ed.

Eight weeks ago, south Korean opposition leader-in-exile Kim Dae Jung was snatched from a Tokyo hotel, blindfolded and beaten, and spirited back to Korea—where he has been under virtual house arrest ever since. His kidnapers have never been caught, but they are widely believed to have been members of the powerful and dreaded Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

Wherever I went in south Korea, the long arm of the KCIA shadowed me. Ubiquitous plain-clothes men armed with walkie-talkies (and invariably wearing spit-polished shoes) waited at hotel elevators for me. They trailed me to breakfast, to hotel shops, even to the Office of Prime Minister Kim Chong Pil. Throughout my stay, I received sporadic mysterious phone calls. Koreans I had known for years suddenly canceled interviews, old friends took back dinner invitations. In short, the KCIA could not have exhibited more dramatically the suffocating atmosphere its agents have created in south Korea.

To visitors like me, such surveillance and interference is annoying sometimes even ludicrous, but for Koreans themselves, day-to-day life under the powerful and arrogant KCIA can be downright terrifying. Its powers are enormous. "It's a combination of CIA, FBI and Mafia," says one local resident—and its tentacles extend into all corners of Korean life. The agency regularly blackmails businessmen, rigs student elections, turns churchmen against each other, strong-arms politicians and tells journalists what to print. Its agents are ensconced in banks, labor unions, corporations, the military—and every ministry of the south Korean Government. Most student leaders are now on the KCIA payroll, and in the countryside, Koreans say that one person in ten is a police informer. Indeed, so pervasive is the KCIA that Koreans now talk politics only in hushed tones, and it is common practice to warn their children that if they

misbehave they'll be sent to Namsan (South Mountain), the KCIA's notorious Seoul headquarters. All this serves to keep an insecure dictator—President Park Chung Hee—in power.

'Lifting': Originally modeled (and named) after the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the Korean CIA was set up in 1961 as an anti-Communist intelligency operation. But as the Park regime became increasingly powerful—and increasingly unsure of its public support—the agency monstrosly expanded. Today, with financial interests in hotels and casinos to help pay for its 50,000 agents around the world, the KCIA's eight bureaus are responsible for everything from harassing non-Communist intellectuals to watching all airport arrivals and departures. It has also enlarged its international activities abroad; pressuring Koreans overseas and occasionally "lifting" Park's critics, like Kim, back to Korea for "trial." Indeed, perhaps its most notorious operation was the abduction of seventeen allegedly anti-Park Koreans from Germany in 1967—a feat accomplished through a series of lies, threats and tricks. (One hapless victim, a student, was lured home with a tale that he was to receive a prize from the President and arrived at Seoul airport bearing a gift he had bought for Park. It was confiscated before he was hauled off to jail.)

The head of this Oriental James Bond setup is an austere, 48-year-old retired general named Li Hu Rak. Ruthlessly devoted to Park. Lee is rightfully considered the No. 2 man in south Korea. And, in fact, his agency is now the chief instrument of government for the President, who in the last year has eliminated almost all other Korean institutions as sources of power including the National Assembly, the Cabinet, courts, universities and political parties. To get what it wants, the KCIA employs everything from providing free sex to easy loans. When it fails to get its way, it simply arrests and tortures suspects. Usually, the agency starts its maneuvers by offering a bribe, moving on to "persuasion" over tea in a comfortable hotel if the subject is argumentative. Those who resist these blandishments may be dragged from their homes in the middle of the night and taken to a "hotel" in the So Bingo section of Seoul. There they are stripped, put into oversize, blood-stained fatigues, interrogated endlessly and tortured with lighted cigarettes. "A favorite KCIA torture," says one Korean, "is a form of Genghis Khan cooking. They hang you upside down and run a flame

on you from below, until you promise anything.”

Even the Catholic Archbishop of Seoul, Cardinal Kim Su Han, is known to be on the KCIA blacklist. His Christmas sermon on radio last year, containing critical comments on the regime, was cut off the air in mid-sentence. “There’s no religious persecution here in the conventional sense,” the cardinal told me. “But if you practice a living faith, if you fight for justice, then you are arrested. That’s religious persecution, isn’t it?” he asked rhetorically.

Embarrassed: Some of the dedicated and competent agents within the KCIA admit privately that the “thug” side of the agency’s activity shames them.

3. Human Rights in Korea: Implications for U. S. Policy

On July 30, 1974, two U.S. Congressional subcommittees held a joint public hearing on human rights in Korea, with four distinguished persons testifying. This statement, stressing the repressive situation in Korea and the need for a review of U.S. policy on Korea, was made by the Hon. Donald M. Fraser, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

The Subcommittees on International Organizations and Movements and Asian and Pacific Affairs are meeting today to consider the human rights situation in South Korea and its implications for U.S. policy. I profoundly regret the necessity for this hearing. However, the increasingly oppressive nature of the South Korean Government demands a thorough re-evaluation of U.S. policy towards that government.

Since October 1972, when martial law was instituted, President Park Chung-hee has placed severe restrictions on the exercise of fundamental civil rights and liberties. As a result of these measures, there are more than a thousand political prisoners. Secret trials are held without due process. 91 persons have been convicted and given extremely harsh sentences. The practice of torture has reached alarming proportions. In short, the Government of South Korea has created a police state which does not allow for any divergence from the official views of the Government.

The question which warrants an answer from the witnesses today is, what should be the response of the U.S. government to the actions of the South Korean Government? In his testimony last week before the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Operations (of the Appropriations Committee), Secretary Kissinger stated that "the stability and security of South Korea are crucial to the security of the East Asian area," and that these factors have "led us to continue economic aid and military

assistance when we would not have recommended many of the actions that were taken by the Government of South Korea." But the greatest threat to the stability and security of South Korea arises not from external aggression but from the oppressive nature of the South Korean Government itself. Can a government remain stable and secure when it maintains control of its people through executions, torture, silencing dissent and arbitrary arrest and detention? South Korea's stability rests on the quicksand of oppression.

U.S. military assistance to countries with oppressive regimes is not only morally wrong but practically unsound. In deciding upon the level of military assistance to South Korea, we should have not only taken into account the threat of aggression by the North Koreans, but the fact that our assistance strengthens the South Korean Government's ability to oppress its own people.

The foreign aid bill is before the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Administration is asking Congress to approve the following military assistance to South Korea: \$161,500,000 in military assistance, \$52,000,000 in military credit sales, and \$20,800,000 in excess defense articles.

Because the South Korean Government is increasingly oppressive and pays little heed to internationally recognized human rights for the Korean people, the military assistance to South Korea should be reduced or eliminated. If the Government of South Korea returns to a democratic system of Government, I am sure the Congress would restore the assistance.

The South Korean example demonstrates the need for the U.S. Government to incorporate human rights as a major factor in administering our military assistance program. Secretary Kissinger stated last week that human rights matters are taken into account in shaping our aid programs. However, there are few examples in which U.S. military assistance to a government was reduced because of its disregard of human rights.

Korea illustrates the broader problem. We need a sense of the Congress amendment to the foreign aid bill which would deny military assistance to any foreign government which

“(1) Systematically imprisons that country’s citizens for political purposes, or (2) otherwise engages in a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights”. The President would be required each year, in presenting requests for appropriations for military assistance, (1) to describe the status of human rights in each country receiving military assistance, (2) to indicate whether, in the opinion of the President, any government was systematically violating human rights, (3) whether the President intends to provide military assistance to those governments committing such violation, and (4) the reasons why it is in the national interest to provide such assistance.

Secretary Kissinger, in his statement last week on foreign aid, urged us “to act with both realism and compassion to reach a new understanding of the human condition, and to build on that understanding a new commitment to help meet the universal longing for justice, human dignity and peace.” U.S. foreign assistance is too often insensitive to the human condition and consequently does not contribute to the goals mentioned by the Secretary. If the above amendment is incorporated in the Foreign Assistance Act and the executive branch faithfully executes it, the need for Congress to take unilateral action—as it is contemplating with respect to South Korea—will be less frequent, and we shall have advanced the universal goals of justice, human dignity and peace.

I would, of course, welcome the witnesses’ comments on the proposals mentioned above.

4 . South Korea: No Sign of Democracy, Unjustified Repression

— The Times —

The Times in London featured south Korea under the repressive rule of Pak Jung Hi in its Aug. 12 issue. Printed here are the excerpts from its editorial and article headlined “South Korea: No Sign of the Democracy That So Many Men Died for” and “South Korea’s Unjustified Repression”....Ed.

— The Editorial —

During the past six months President Park, who apparently fears that his government will be overthrown by a popular uprising, has systematically erased the last vestiges of democracy in Korea to repress any form of criticism.

Using the bogey of North Korea as a pretext to suppress demands for restoration of democratic rights, the regime has issued emergency decrees which threaten anyone who criticizes the President or his self-imposed constitution with death or imprisonment. Thousands of dissident students, intellectuals and Christian leaders have been arrested and President Park’s political opponents have been brought before secret military tribunals on what appear to be questionable charges that they attempted to assist a communist-inspired uprising this year.

More than 60 persons have been arraigned on charges that they attempted to encourage students to stage an uprising in April to establish a communist government. They include south Korea’s former President, Posun Yun, a 77-year-old democrat, and a Roman Catholic bishop, Daniel Chi Hak Sun.

Two other democrats and intellectuals, Mr. Kim Chang Kuk, Dean of Yonsei University’s Theological College and Mr. Kim Dong Kil, Professor of History at the same university—detained by Korea’s much feared CIA, since April—have also been brought before a military tribunal

on charges that they encouraged an underground student movement.

Fourteen dissidents have been sentenced to death by military tribunals during the past four weeks. However, the death sentences imposed on five of President Park's adversaries, including Kim Chi Ha, the noted Korean poet who has ostensibly been persecuted because his poems have held the regime up to ridicule, were subsequently commuted to life imprisonment after protest movements began to swell in the United States and Japan.

Two Japanese nationals—one a journalist—were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment last month.

Political repression does not end with secret military tribunals. President Park's major political adversary. Mr. Kim Dae Jung, who was abducted in Tokyo by Korean CIA agents in August last year has been brought before a civil court on the grounds that he violated the law when he campaigned against President Park during the elections in 1967 and 1971. Among the charges, the State alleges that Mr. Kim suggested to the electorate that President Park was attempting to perpetuate himself in power as a "generalissimo."

The Government attempts to justify its actions on two specious grounds. Mr. Bang Hyun Lim, special adviser to President Park, claims that it is unfair to measure Korea against Western democratic institutions. Reiterating the Government's shrill warning against the danger of a communist attack.

However, senior officers who command the 38,000 American troops stationed in Korea, say that military activity in North Korea does not justify President Park's claim.

At the same time the Government maintains that Korea cannot afford liberal democratic institutions until her economy has been built up.

— The Article —

The other plea constantly offered by the Seoul government is that

it is under threat from the communist regime in the north. This plea can be dismissed, first, because it has been so readily offered before and been found to be false: there is no more evidence now of an imminent attack from the north than there has been on the other recent occasions when it has been advanced by President Park. But secondly, however authoritarian the instincts that persist, it is precisely the shoots of true democratic thinking and action that should be nurtured in the southern part of the country if the claims of the north are to be negated. There is no justification, whatever the country's traditions, for the harshness now in force.

The student movement that contributed to Syngman Rhee's downfall in 1960 became active last year in face of repression and has now been silenced by the new laws and by the brutal methods with which the Korean CIA is associated. Protest has come from many other quarters. Leaders of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches are regarded as suspect, naturally enough for their loyalties are not to be dragooned as easily as President Park might wish. World protest has sufficed to save Mr. Kim Chi Ha, the poet, from a death penalty but many other writers and intellectuals suffer as their like have done throughout the history of Confucian authoritarian rule.

Anxiety has been growing in the United States at what has been happening. The American troops still maintained in Korea are psychologically the most important part of the support President Park's Government still enjoys from Washington. In Japan protest has grown ever since the abduction in Tokyo a year ago of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the South Korean Opposition leader, who has still not been allowed to leave Korea. The forthcoming United Nations General Assembly, when the question of North and South Korea will come up again, may lie behind the South Korean Government's anxieties. They are certainly not likely to win support by their present methods.

5 . Declaration of Freedom of Press

About 200 newsmen at the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper held a meeting in the editorial offices on October 24 and issued this statement in the name of all the newspaper staff. Their action was followed by supportive activity in many news agencies throughout Korea, but also provoked action by the Park regime to coerce business firms into cancelling advertisements, thus jeopardizing the newspaper's existence.

We declare that the unprecedented crisis of our society today can only be overcome through the practice of freedom of speech. There can be no reason to suppress freedom of speech, which is the fundamental function of society, and it cannot be interfered with by anyone, if we are to maintain a democratic society and develop a free nation. We feel deep shame in the marrow of our bones when we are urged by the church and university to repent for the restoration of the freedom of speech. Freedom of speech is the fundamental task that we must fulfill. It is not a task which can be permitted by the government or granted by the people. We will never kneel to any pressure which comes from the opposition to free speech. We declare that we will do our best to practice free speech. At the same time we resolve with our hearts as follows:

—We will unite with strength and resolution to oppose all external interference with newspapers, broadcasting, and magazines.

—We reject solemnly the inspection of Korean Central Intelligence agents. We reject illegal arrests of journalists. If there is anyone who is arrested illegally, under any circumstances, we will stay and occupy this office until the arrested person comes back.

October 24, 1974

The Journalists of *Dong-A Ilbo*

6 Dong-A Ilbo's Struggle

by T.K.
"Letters from South Korea"
January 17, 1975

The battle cries of the people have lately stirred in me a vision of a great person—one who shares the feelings and travail of the people, not just a skilled politician but a great human being. Is such a person being produced somewhere today? And can a people's united front capable of cultivating the democracy suitable for that great person possibly emerge out of the present darkness? Or is this vision only a self-reassuring dream that happened to well up out of my own feelings? As a context in which to test my feelings, it is worth introducing the rather long January 11 editorial of the *Dong-A Ilbo*:

In Appreciation of the People's Support

We cannot find adequate words to express our appreciation for the vigorous and warm support of the people. After learning of the blanket cancellations by our usual advertisers, this newspaper and its affiliate, Dong-A Broadcasting Company, both have received countless telephone calls and letters of encouragement. Although normal advertising has dropped off drastically, part of the slack has been taken up by the support ads that continue to pour in. We are also, thankfully, flooded with long-term subscriptions. But the direct deposits of support funds disturb our consciences. Because of the heartfelt zeal behind these contributions, we can hardly reject them, but we are deeply touched by the fact that the donors are citizens who appear to have only very limited means. One gift comes from company employees who pooled their lunch allowances; that makes us worry about how they managed to fill their empty stomachs. Other contributions come from groups of high school and university boys and girls. The gifts are not particularly large, but the students have any number of urgent personal needs for which the money could have been used.

This outpouring of tearful support makes us once again painfully aware of the people's backing for *Dong-A*, and even more acutely cognizant of our responsibility toward them. *Dong-A* has always been nurtured by the people's love, and with it shall continue to grow. If the people are the waters of the sea, then *Dong-A* is a fish; only with the former can the latter go on living.

We do not for a moment think that the people's warm and enthusiastic support is directed solely to a single enterprise called *Dong-A*. It is, we believe, a vote of confidence in the company's adoption and implementation of a policy to promote the Korean people, their culture, and democracy, and thus a manifestation of strong support for freedom of the press, people's rights, and the growth of democracy in our country. We are fully aware that what the people of this country really support is press freedom, their human rights, and democracy, and thus that their affection for *Dong-A* is merely one way of expressing that basic commitment.

The powerful surge of support that followed the nonsensical wholesale cancellations of advertisements convinced us that we are not alone in our ordeal. Far from it, we feel greatly encouraged to renew our own commitment and not lose courage. "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," says the Bible. Bowing before the people, thanking them for their support, and confessing our reassurance, we take pride in their greatness as a people. They are a great people — sensible, proud, and noble. By their love we are confirmed in our efforts as journalists to pursue the right path in reporting the news on their behalf; they make the battle worthwhile in the midst of the hardships bred by an irrational situation.

All media, including *Dong-A*, belong to the people. That is why the media are referred to as public organs of society, and for the same reason *Dong-A* is sometimes called "the people's newspaper." In expressing both deep emotion and gratitude for the people's warm and vigorous support, *Dong-A* renews its commitment to make every effort to be truly a newspaper of the people.

More than once the editorial speaks of “warm” support; though repetitive, there is really no other word for it. One woman, the kind one would expect to see only in the marketplace, came in and left an envelope on a news chief’s desk. She hardly seemed well-to-do, but the envelope contained several thousand won. She did not even give her name. The stream of students taking one-year subscriptions seems endless. Spontaneous collections by students consist largely of coins. Such touching scenes follow one after another, while support ads increase daily. Pouring over these ads each day is much more interesting and informative than reading the regular news columns, though occasionally an ad prompts a tear. Some samples:

“Whatever freedom of the press is, I want it.” — Park In Kong, shoe repair man.

“O foolish ones!” — Seven university students.

“Brighten the darkness.” — Members of the Angel Singers Family.

“Until the baton changes hands.” — Some students.

“We could neither speak nor look as we wished, but until now we could at least listen.” — Garment workers at Tong Hwa Company.

“*Dong-A*! You’re the only hope we have.” — Myongdong residents.

“I feel *Dong-A*’s pain as if it were my own.” — Anonymous.

“We are celebrating our wedding by sending encouragement to *Dong-A*.” — Son He and Yong Sam.

“Hyon Chol! Follow *Dong-A*’s courageous example.” — Greetings to our first son Hyon Chol on his 100th day on this earth.

“We’ll win!” — Seoul Senior High School graduates.

“*Dong-A*, I could hug you!” — Ju.

Another ad, with no message, was signed simply “Grandmother in Myun Mok Dong township.” Most ads were placed by “Anonymous.” A *Dong-A Ilbo* column calls this “the age of anonymity.” Not without reason, considering the ubiquitous oppression and harassment. The anonymous persons are of course counted among the silent majority, the “absolute majority” claimed to support the Yushin system. Fearful of even their level of courage, the KCIA is frenetically trying to uncover the identities behind the support ads. Provincial police are investigating

Dong-A's lists of subscribers with a particularly harsh eye for recent subscribers. Copies of *Dong-A* shipped to the countryside often just disappear. Street sales agents are terrorized. Such tactics are effective in the provinces because victims, fearing for their lives, do not report abuses to the newspaper's head office in Seoul. The Park regime therefore believes that, even if some noise must be tolerated in metropolitan areas like Seoul, the provinces at least are filled with silent masses wholly subservient to its rule by force. Well, they may be silenced, but they are not enslaved. I have no doubt that they are rediscovering the meaning of their lives through resistance like that made by the *Dong-A Ilbo*. History awaits their rising up in resistance.

The *Dong-A* case reconfirms the importance of individuals in history. Its fight for press freedom began with the protests of only thirty young journalists whose initiative aroused the entire news staff, who in turn got the executives to reassert the daily's founding spirit. Like Korea University, the *Dong-A Ilbo* was founded by Kim Sung Soo, the nation's leading proponent of national development by indigenous capital. It served as a major vehicle through which many intellectuals stirred the people against Japanese colonialism.

The Ad Hoc Committee of the *Dong-A Ilbo* branch of the Reporters Association late last year issued a notice that began with these words:

While government leaders claim to "know nothing" of the wholesale cancellations of *Dong-A Ilbo's* advertisements, the cancellations continue unabated. Since December 25 (1974) not one theater ad has been placed. After Doksur Pyo (Eagle Phonograph) cancelled its advertising contract, Saingmyoung Bo-hum Hyup-hoi (insurance association) on December 28 informed us by telephone of withdrawal of its ad for the 30th. A special full-page ad scheduled for New Year's Day was cancelled by telephone on December 28 by Hyundai Automobile Company. Seoul Shikpum (foodstuffs) and Borneo Tong-sang (furniture) each withdrew five-column ads. In Hyundai Auto's case, its notice of cancellation came only twenty minutes after its publicity manager on the afternoon of the 28th had settled the contract for the full-page New Year's Day ad and had promised to deliver the

plates for it by the morning of the 30th. The rapidity with which this cancellation was made would have been impossible, we believe, without "outside" tapping of the telephone conversation between the advertiser and our newspaper's ad department.

The advertisers in this notice are identified only by the letters "D," "S," and so on, but I have specified them as best I could on the basis of my own investigations. Of special importance was the insistence of the Ad Hoc Committee's notice that the *Dong-A* daily news and broadcasting company make known to the public the extent of gifts, support ads, and prepaid subscriptions. "To turn our backs on the fervent support of our readers is to turn our backs on the equally fervent aspirations of a free people for the restoration of democracy," warned the committee. "If we make our own course clear, support by the people, who hunger for the return of democracy, will escalate, and with their backing our fight for press freedom will surely be victorious."

The reporters firmly believe that "despite delays and deflections, victory in this fight is assured." Their struggle is not, in their minds, an isolated one for the *Dong-A Ilbo* alone; it is "a matter of deep concern for our democratic people and the focus of international opinion." Individuals like these can change the course of history. So far, the public authorities, the ruling party, and even the dictator have said nothing about this newspaper's struggle, using only crafty blocks and parries incapable of turning the tide of popular support. The nervous overreaction that led to Ogle's deportation is typical; the strong criticism at home and abroad were hardly anticipated. Nor was it expected that Ogle would be able to testify at a congressional hearing immediately after his return to the U.S. And there certainly was no idea that KCIA action to deprive him of his personal freedom [by preventing him from disembarking from a Korean Air Lines plane at Tokyo's International Airport en route home] would cause such an uproar. In short, the authorities acted out of their own impatient interests and were, therefore, simply incapable of making accurate judgments about objective realities.

The *Dong-A Ilbo* case also served to reveal to the entire public the extent of resistance by students and Christian circles. The Park regime is increasingly pushed to the point where it must make some decision. Will

it elect to clamp down in renewed oppression, or will it seek some temporary escape route that prolongs its life? Either way it cannot reverse its destined decline. Likewise, most *Dong-A* employees confess that the newspaper cannot back down from its present position.

Still, even a few persons can work miracles in altering the course of history. Conversely, a great people with a great history can produce extraordinary individuals. Korea should seek its greatness not in wealth but in dignity. This, at least, we must learn from our present ordeal. Let our land be a mecca of justice, linked in solidarity with those who oppose the spread of fascism in Asia. Let us also realize that our struggle cannot be waged in disregard of the international forces supporting those who oppress us, and that these forces operate so as to reduce the Korean people to a *de facto* condition of domestic confinement. It is up to us to break out of that condition with the help of conscientious forces throughout the world. For this reason, we are immensely grateful for the support for *Dong-A Ilbo* that comes from the outside.

7. Times: Torture to Extract False “Confessions”

Follows an article carried in THE TIMES Feb. 18 by a correspondent in Seoul headlined “Freed Opponents of the S. Korean Regime Tell of Torture to Extract False Confessions”:

Mr. Na Byung Sik, a South Korean student who was released in Seoul with other political prisoners on Saturday, told The Times on Feb. 17 that torture had been used on the detainees.

“All I can remember is that I was half conscious and screaming. They would alternate the type of treatment, no sleep, beatings, electric shock treatment, and then they would gag me, hang me upside down, and pour water down my nostrils,” he said. Like many of the other intellectuals, students and Christian dissidents who were released 48 hours ago by President Park Chung Hee’s regime, Mr. Na, who is 26, claimed that interrogators of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency had used torture and threats to extract false confessions from many of the detainees.

In many cases political prisoners who were initially sentenced to death or life imprisonment by secret military tribunals last year, alleged that the interrogators had attempted to extract confessions from students which would falsely link democratic dissidents with communist or North Korea.

Mr. Na was a student of history at Seoul University and a member of the now outlawed National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students, opposed to President Park’s constitution. He was arrested on April 6 last year and sentenced to death by a military tribunal on July 13. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

The following are excerpts of his testimony of the days and nights of horror before he appeared before a military tribunal.

“On April 7 the day after I was taken to the sixth bureau of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. I was taken to room 208 and made to remain on my hands and knees for two hours. They used part of an army bed as a club to beat me on my back.

They cursed me and said, "We are going to break you."

He was then forced to sit on his haunches until dawn. After two sleepless nights he was taken to the Seoul detention centre.

"The next morning I was interrogated again and told to write a confession in three parts. I decided that they were determined to get it and I decided to describe my activities which were legal."

As far as he can remember, it took three days to complete the confession but his interrogators were still dissatisfied.

"They told me they were not satisfied because it did not conform with confessions of other students who they alleged had referred to plans for a revolution by violence. I told my interrogators that I had never heard of the plan. There was no need for violence because we should be satisfied even if we were given the right to hold peaceful and orderly demonstrations. "This made them angry and the torture began. At first they placed ballpoint pens between my fingers and crushed my hands. The pain was terrible but I continued to deny charges that students were planning an armed revolution.

"They would hang me upside down, tie a towel around my mouth and then run water into my nostrils. The beating would continue all the time. I was half unconscious when they attached electric wires to my toes. The shocks jolted my body and all I can remember are my own screams.

"The worse days were the rainy days. I hated them. The intelligence men would use the sharp ends of their umbrellas to prod us around the cells.

"But please remember I got off lightly. Other prisoners suffered worse pain," Mr. Na said.

In other cases political prisoners alleged that they had been forced to utter statements or write letters praising President Kim II Sung of North Korea or the communists—an offence under South Korean

anti-communist laws.

Professor Kim Dong Gil, a pro-American who was teaching history at Yonsei University, was arrested on Apr. 20 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Aug. 12 by a military tribunal. Apart from his defence counsel—and immediate members of his family, no one was allowed to attend the proceedings.

Relaxing with his family in Seoul tonight, Professor Kim, a confirmed democrat who opposes President Park's constitution, said that he had not been tortured but that 80 per cent of the evidence at his trial had been contrived.

The professor who is idolized by students in the main South Korean universities, said that he had simply written a confession shortly after his arrest when one interrogator told him: "There is no alternative. We have orders from the top to get it."

After his arrest Professor Kim was kept in an 18 sqft cell for five months.

Professor Kim and a number of President Park's adversaries, were arrested last year because they had organized a peaceful campaign to collect signatures of south Koreans opposing the terms of the new constitution.

The regime proclaimed emergency regulations in Jan. and Apr. last year prohibiting any debate or criticism of the constitution.

8. *The Washington Post*

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1976

South Korea's Most Dangerous Man

A DANGEROUS MAN is on the loose in South Korea, one who threatens to provoke internal upheaval and to cost his country the support of its leading foreign ally. Indeed, given the ruthless centralization of power in Seoul, this man is in a position to do more damage to Korea's stability and security than any other figure. He is, of course, South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

President Park is as spoiled a despot as any ruling today. He started his political career unexceptionably enough. But the narrowness of his electoral victory over Kim Dae Jung in 1971—a contest in which his party extorted \$3 million from Gulf Oil alone — apparently frightened him. He reacted over the next two years by turning South Korea into a personal dictatorship. Meanwhile he played on the solicitude many Americans have felt for his country since the Korean War, and on the gratitude some Americans expressed for his help in Vietnam, and he got the United States at once to build up his army and ignore the increasingly repressive quality of his rule.

The other day a dozen or so brave Koreans gathered in a church in Seoul to read a "declaration of democracy and national salvation." They asked President Park to resign so that democracy could be restored. The group included his old nemesis Kim Dae Jung and leaders of South Korea's Christian community. Arrested promptly, they are evidently to be charged with plotting to overthrow the government. If convicted, they could be executed—eight other Korean political challengers were executed last year. The arrests are described as the last gasp of the political opposition. This does not mean that political opposition will end but that it will be forced underground. President Park offers no alternative.

Now, President Ford laid hands on President Park with a visit a year or so back. Secretary of State Kissinger's position, that Mr. Park's geopolitical role is too important for the United States to take issue with the way he runs the country, is all too well known. Still, it is dangerous and dishonorable for the Ford administration to remain silent about President Park's domestic savagery. Administration mumbling notwithstanding, this is not the United States' only choice.

We do not believe that the United States should abandon the South Korean people or otherwise act in a way that would tempt war. But we

do believe that the administration's permissive tolerance of Korean police rule, far from allowing American officials to wield a softening influence by quiet diplomacy, has simply permitted President Park to tighten his grip. We suspect that President Park is laughing up his sleeve at Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger and the American people. He is telling himself that there is no assault on American values that the United States cannot be conned into condoning in the name of anti-communism. If the administration cannot bring itself to set President Park straight, then the Congress, which controls the funds that keep him afloat, should do so on its own.

9. Amnesty International's Investigation On Repression

Amnesty International headquartered in London, made a 36-page report of its mission which visited south Korea from 25 March until 9 April 1975, to investigate the suppression of the people under the fascist authoritarian rule by Pak Jung Hi. Introduced here is part of its report.....Ed.

Denied Civil Rights

A citizen of the Republic of Korea who is accused of a political offence is faced with a frightening panoply of legal instruments which can be used to deny him the opportunity to establish his innocence. Some "offences" are so defined that many activities that are normally considered the natural right of citizens become illegal. It is worth noting that various forms of criticism of the government are illegal under Article 4 of the National Security Law, Article 4 of the Anti-Communist Law, Emergency Regulations 1 (now repealed), 4 (now repealed), 7 and 9 and Article 104 (II) of the Korean Criminal Code. The impression emerges from this continual re-enactment of essentially similar provisions that it is the actual promulgation of law, quite apart from its content, that is used to communicate the notion that there must be no dissent. Thus it is the prescriptive form, as distinct from the substance, of legislation that is used to maintain a strongly authoritarian regime and inhibit civil liberty.

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the Korean decision-making process is its intrinsically arbitrary character. It was not necessary for the government party to pass the revision of Article 104 of the Criminal Code (above) in the manner that it chose so to do. Their majority in the National Assembly was perfectly sufficient. It happens because those with power in South Korea are not publicly accountable.

A further example of this arbitrary behaviour is the government's handling of the poet, Kim Chi-ha, convicted and sentenced to death in July 1974, sentence later commuted to life imprisonment, released in February 1975, rearrested in March 1975. This would appear to indicate

a relatively careless regard for the rights of the individual.

The individual who seeks to establish his innocence in a political trial is handicapped further by the systematic intimidation that any lawyer acting in his defence is liable to encounter. The situation in South Korea is such that no indigenous group has been able to dissent publicly and remain unchallenged. In that vein, the government is aware that if the legal profession were allowed the degree of independence usual in democratic countries, it would be a powerful and influential body with which to contend. As appears below, defence lawyers in political trials are subjected to continual harassment in court, whilst lawyers for the prosecution are permitted to brow-beat defendant in a particularly intimidating manner.

The authorities do not want this situation to be known, and as a result intimidation by them starts early in the pre-trial process. A lawyer who agrees to act in a political case is likely to be threatened that if he continues so to act, he or his family will suffer. Very often other clients are warned away and, further, it is not uncommon for the authorities to remove a lawyer's files. It is generally rumoured that there is a section of the KCIA that explicitly documents the progression of a lawyer's career, the clients for whom he has acted and, as one lawyer informed this mission, all the mistakes he has ever made. This provides an unsurpassable basis for psychological intimidation.

Members of the Korean Bar are frequently detained for questioning by the KCIA and the civilian police. These periods of detention vary in time. The questioning is rarely intended to derive information; it is merely a tactic to intimidate.

Irregularities in Trial Process

It was with shame rather than anger that members of the Korean Bar described to the mission the procedures adopted in the courts of their country. The facts as presented speak largely for themselves.

In civil cases where the government is in the position of defendant, the court will rarely allow the plaintiff to call witnesses. This is for

reasons of pure prejudice, but is theoretically explained by the discretion of the trial judge to decide who is, and who is not, an appropriate witness.

In political criminal trials, the procedures adopted by the courts are intended to harass the defence. They successfully achieve this objective and it is difficult to characterize this type of trial as anything other than a travesty of justice. Thus:

—If in an espionage prosecution the defence applies to the court for permission to call a witness, the KCIC will often arrest that witness as a security risk to the Republic of Korea. As a result, even if the application to the court is allowed, the witness will be in custody and unable to attend.

—Confessions are frequently extracted under torture (see below). Courts will not enquire into the methods of interrogation employed by the law-enforcement agencies.

—Although under Korean Law legal counsel has an unrestricted right to visit his client if in custody and discuss the case, this is rarely allowed, entry to the prison being denied by the prison authorities.

—In conclusion, we reproduce part of a written statement tendered to the mission by a defendant who had been charged under the Emergency Regulations.

“At the trial what was read as my written confession was entirely different from the statement that I had written whilst under detention and signed. The defendants were so incensed at the prosecution’s deceit that we all stood up and shouted that the trial was a farce. Then we sung the National Anthem. We were not allowed to say one word for ourselves. We had been warned to answer “yes” to all questions that were put to us. On one occasion I answered “no” and I was taken into an office during a recess with another of the defendants and we were warned that if we continued to answer in the negative to questions that had been put to us we would be condemned as communists.

Torture and Harassment

Although the details of ill-treatment and torture suffered by certain detainees will be itemized below, it should not be thought that such behaviour is directed solely to those individuals charged with criminal activities.

It is a tactic of all three of the Korean law enforcement agencies that they ill-treat any person who may appear to them, or their political superiors, to be a threat. Members of the church, academics, lawyers and journalists are commonly detained for interrogation. The same applies to relatives of persons under direct suspicion and the relatives of persons in detention.

Another tactic of Korean law-enforcement agencies is to ensure that certain Korean citizens are aware that the conduct of their daily lives is under surveillance. Individuals awake to find guards on their houses, their mail shows obvious signs of having been opened prior to arrival, and people are openly followed in the streets. The manner in which these police activities are carried out is so arrogant and blatant that the inescapable conclusion is that its object is often, like interrogation, not an attempt to gather information, but an attempt to intimidate.

On a slightly different level, people whom the authorities feel are indulging in "political activity" are often and without warning detained for questioning. "Political activity" would seem to incorporate an involvement in any form of dissent. It especially comprehends support for human rights movements. This questioning may involve physical attacks on the person detained. In one case it resulted in a broken leg, in others beatings with wooden sticks.

This report has already dealt at length with the behaviour in court of those holding judicial and prosecution appointments. On the basis of our findings, it is clear that law-enforcement agencies could fabricate confessions without the need for the effort involved in torturing a prisoner. When neither are subjected to examination, a forged signature is no different in effect from a coerced signature. Nevertheless, the torturing of detainees is continued and of course has an effect on those involved in civil right

work and political opposition.

The mission received evidence that the following kinds of torture had been used against individuals in Korean prisons:

I. water torture—cold water forced up the nostrils through a tube. A cloth is simultaneously placed in the victim's mouth so that breathing is impossible. Unconsciousness results. No physical marks remain;

II. electrical torture—especially to sensitive parts of the body such as toes and genitals;

III. deprivation of sleep—in one case up to 15 days;

IV. beatings—particularly to the soles of the feet;

V. being hung from the ceiling and spun around;

VI. having a ball-point pen placed between the fingers and having the fingers twisted and crushed against it;

VII. stripping naked in sub-zero weather and being doused in water;

VIII. burning with flames or cigarettes;

IX. torture wounds left without treatment;

X. being forced to sit facing a white wall for up to six days without sleep. This can cause hallucinations after two days;

XI. kicking below the knee on the front of the shin bone;

XII. prolonged standing;

XIII. intimidation by the use of screams from adjoining rooms.

This treatment has been said to have the following medical effects:

- I. ruptured ear-drums;
- II. abscessed lungs;
- III. prolapsed anus;
- IV. heart attack;
- V. bruising of bone and tissue.

On 28 February 1975, 13 opposition ex-National Assemblymen alleged in a press conference that they had been tortured by South Korean law-enforcement agencies shortly after President Park Chung-hee had taken emergency powers in the autumn of 1972.

It was the intention of this mission to interview all 13 of the parliamentarians in order that a full investigation be conducted into the treatment that they alleged they had suffered.

To this end, appointments were made for the mission by officials of the National Democratic Party to interview those of the politicians who were then in Seoul. They numbered eight. Immediately prior to the meeting, the mission was informed by an NDP spokesman that the discussions would have to be cancelled as all eight had been physically restrained by the KCIA from keeping the appointments. Seven were under house arrest, one had been detained in custody.

Despite a KCIA cordon the mission entered the home of one of the politicians for a discussion which lasted approximately two hours. The politician with whom we spoke had without doubt suffered brutal and humiliating treatment at the hand of law-enforcement agencies. He had been stripped naked, bound hand and foot, suspended from the ceiling and beaten viciously with wooden sticks. At no time was he charged with any offence. The aim of the exercise had simply been to intimidate an outspoken critic of the government.

Low Prison Conditions

The 203 students, intellectuals and churchmen sentenced to heavy terms under the Presidential Emergency Decrees 1 and 4 were initially detained in Seoul's Westgate Prison, and subsequently dispersed to other prisons, many to Anyang and other regional prisons.

The general level of prison conditions is low: food and bedding are rudimentary. Food consists of a small thrice-daily mixture of beans, barley and rice and soup with salted radishes. Bedding consists often of decomposed and foetid mattresses. Both are inadequate to cope with the bitterly cold winters. (-10°C , with no heating.) Arthritis among ex-prisoners is common.

It has been reliably reported that there is serious over-crowding, with as many as 20 prisoners to a cell, often sleeping in shifts on the few mattresses available. Clothes are brought by relatives, but visits are severely restricted, with only one close relative allowed to see the prisoner once a month. The members of the People's Revolutionary Party were held incommunicado. Prisoners are not allowed access to their personal doctors, although many of them are reported to have been tortured during pretrial detention. This is in breach of the Penal Administration Law.

Political prisoners are singled out for particularly discriminatory treatment, and are permitted neither to write nor receive letters, nor to take exercise. They are prohibited from talking or communicating with one another, under pain of punishment by their guards. They are denied medical attention when sick, even though this is guaranteed by the law. Indeed, even the term "political prisoner" is not allowed, the authorities preferring the term "leftist prisoner" (chwaiksu) whose treasonable connotations with the fervently anti-communist philosophy of the regime leads them to be considered outcasts within the prison system itself. They are further obliged to wear red badges.

Such prisoners are under constant pressure to recant their views, including being subjected to a restrictive regime which denies them work, reading matter, medical attention and visitors. They are termed "unrepentant prisoners" (mijonghyangia), as distinct from those who have recanted

(chonhyang chwaiksu), the latter being granted certain limited privileges and an end to discriminatory treatment. Usually their conversion consists of a declaration signed under duress that they will not indulge in their former activities and beliefs.

While the mission was in Seoul, the Supreme Court passed final judgment confirming the death sentences on eight prisoners in the "People's Revolutionary Party" case. The legal proceedings which ended in the peremptory execution of these eight prisoners, contained numerous disturbing elements which require examination. The case illustrates dramatically that defendants have grossly inadequate opportunity to present a defence, and that in this case justice was neither done nor seen to be done.

It is the considered opinion of this mission that the facts point to the case having been fabricated by the Korean authorities. When government authorities feel compelled to torture in order that false confessions be extracted, and then to deny the defendants a fair and open court hearing, this conclusion becomes inescapable. The PRP case of 1964 had been fabricated in an attempt to rouse the Korean people's feeling on the North-South issue. This we find to have been the aim in 1974; it was further an attempt by the government to arouse prejudice against academic, church and other demands for liberalisation.

(Subtitles are ours.....Ed.)

**10 Adopted S. Korean Children Airlifted
to Europe & America
— Annually Several Thousand for 10 Years —**

**The Asahi Shimbun
April 24, 1975**

The April 24, 1975 issue of the Japanese newspaper “Asahi Shimbun” carried an article entitled “Adopted S. Korean Children Airlifted to Europe and America”.

Follows the full text of the report:

The airlifts of Vietnam War orphans have raised a serious question before the world public, “What is humanity?” From South Korea, a neighbor of Japan, annually several thousand children for the past 10 years have been transported by air to European nations and the United States for international adoption. The number reached about 5,700 in 1974 alone. Of them some 1,500 went to Europe via Haneda (Tokyo International Airport) before changing for flights to Europe. After a few hours of “stay in Japan” at an airport hotel, they left secretly for their second homeland. The South Korean government has endorsed this project, saying, “There is no alternative in view of the future of the children”. Few resident Koreans in Japan know of such “movement of people.” This will likely provide an additional ammunition for the current international controversy over humanism.

Ten to fifteen outgoing South Korean orphans form a group, escorted by 3 to 5 adoption service agents or Catholic sisters. U.S.-bound groups board a Northwest jet liner, which stops over at Haneda Airport before a flight to Seattle or Honolulu.

Groups bound for Europe take a Korean Air Lines plane which leaves Seoul for Tokyo. Being kept at “Haneda Tokyu Hotel” for a while before transfer to other planes — KLM; Air France; Scandinavian Air Lines

— for Amsterdam, Paris, Copenhagen and Oslo where they proceed to their respective foster parents. A Korean Air Lines plane arrives in Tokyo at noon; departs at around 9 – 10 p.m.

Airlines and hotel personnel concerned call these south Korean children “orphan party” or “Korean babies”. A careful look reveals airlifts of South Korean orphans are carried out almost every day except for Sundays.

Haneda Immigration Office has issued transit visas for the orphans being sent to European countries: a monthly average of 130, or some 1,500 a year. According to the South Korean Embassy in Tokyo, both the international adoption project and airlifts of South Korean orphans have been undertaken by the “Holt Children Service” based in Oregon, U.S. and several other international adoption services, which have their offices in Seoul.

Such an adoption project was begun on a non-governmental basis right after the Korean War. The governments concerned have played a passive role simply by showing a support for it or guarding against any trouble.

Rumors had been persistent that the adopted children were ill-treated while aboard airplanes; that there were fierce scrambles for orphans among adoption service organizations; that some supposedly adopted children were sent again to an orphanage in a recipient country. In 1961, the South Korean government instituted the “Special Law on Adoption of Orphans” in order to prevent controversy over the adoption issue.

According to the South Korean Embassy in Tokyo, any person who wishes to adopt a South Korean orphan is required to file an application with the court of a district where the child lives. The court, after confirming the nonexistence of the person responsible for supporting the orphan, decrees that it be transferred to an orphan asylum before a trip abroad. After these procedures, the Minister of Insurance and Social Affairs authorizes the adoption.

The ROK Embassy in Japan disclosed that its Government

authorized the overseas adoption of 5,669 South Korean children during 1974.

At one p.m. on April 24, (1975), a party of 15 alighted from a DC10 plane of Korean Air Lines which arrived at Haneda an hour later than schedule. Ten of them were orphans — seven aged zero, one aged one, and two boys aged three. They were accompanied by five American women. After all the other passengers got off, stewardess carried down the ramp the babies wrapped in white woolen baby dresses. The little boys were toddling down, pulling up their trousers as they were led by the stewardess by the hand. One child had in his right hand a toy car and a picture postcard which shows a Korean lady in traditional costume.

A group of part-time baby-sitters arrived with a chartered bus to take over the newly-arrived children. They all wore armbands of an aviation company. Passing through the custom's area without being checked, they were taken to the Haneda Tokyu Hotel by a microbus. Upon entering into a room, the babies burst into cries. The room looked as if were a scene of battle. All the female escorts got very busy changing the diapers of the infants and bottle-feeding them.

At 11 p.m. the babies were sent off by baby-sitters to a Scandinavian Air Lines jet. They were to be handed over to adoptive parents in Copenhagen at 6 a.m. on April 24 (local time). Their new life would start in the second homeland.

Lee Won Hong, senior cultural and information attache at the South Korean Embassy to Tokyo, said:

“I am very sorry for the children, but the present conditions of the Korean society and economy cannot afford to support them.”

11. Declaration of Conscience

by Kim Chi Ha

This is the full text of the Declaration of Conscience written by the poet Kim Chi Ha now in kept in a solitary cell in Seoul and smuggled out of South Korea recently.

To all who cherish justice and truth.

The Park regime is tying me up in a conspiratorial net of incredible lies. They say I am a communist who infiltrated the Catholic Church and pretended to be an advocate of democracy and human rights. I have been arrested and imprisoned on these charges.

The authorities will soon begin a courtroom charade to “legally” brand me forever as a treacherous Marxist–Leninist agent. I will be impressed into the ranks of that legion of government–designated “communists.”

I am not the only target of this conspiracy. It is directed at the whole movement to restore democracy and at the Christian Church which has been fighting for social justice. The authorities are particularly determined to label as pro-communist the Association of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice, the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy, and all youth and student movements. This is the forerunner of a broad crackdown on dissent.

The net has been thrown widely to encompass all democratic forces, my church and the student movement. I owe it to history and the Korean people to state my beliefs and the facts about my arrest as I know them.

AM I A COMMUNIST?

I have never in the past thought of myself as a communist, and I still do not. I am not a communist. The KCIA [Korean Central Intelligence Agency] charges against me should be patently absurd. My lawyer has told me they have taken the "confession" I was forced to write and have made it public to prove that I am a communist. [The KCIA is distributing a pamphlet entitled "The Case Against Kim Chi Ha, The True Identity of the Poet" which includes Kim's confession excerpts from his prison notes, list of books seized at his home, etc.]

It was not a voluntary statement. I was a powerless individual in an underground interrogation room of the KCIA's Fifth Bureau. They were the almighty agency of state terror, beyond any law or decency From the time of my arrest I was pressured to say that I was a "communist who has infiltrated the Catholic Church." The government had decided to destroy me politically and religiously. They were going to crush me until I was flattened out like a piece of dried cuttlefish. I resisted my interrogators and refused to "confess." The grilling continued for five or six days, I think. Finally they wore me down. I had not been in good health before my arrest; I had fainted several times due to anemia, and I was suffering from chronic insomnia. The constant questioning left me physically exhausted and delirious. I knew the Park regime would use any means necessary to convict me as a communist. It did no good to keep telling the interrogators that I was innocent. They had strict orders from their master to "Get Kim Chi Ha" regardless of the facts. The KCIA agents were cogs in the machine; they could not refuse that order. They were ashamed of what they were doing but they hammered away at me day and night. I saw no point in continuing the nerve-wracking war of attrition against such pitiful men!

Finally, on the sixth day, I wrote out a statement which they dictated. I scribbled it down like graffiti on a toilet wall and threw it at them. That is how my "confession" was written.

The "confession" says that I am a communist and a Catholic. That is an antimony like being "a democratic fascist." Every school child knows that communism regards religion, especially Christianity, as the "opiate of the masses."

The KCIA pamphlet reproduces some of the notes I jotted down in prison from April, 1974, until February. Again these memorandums and notes are supposed to be "proof" that I am a communist. Those notes contain all kinds of thoughts and emotions. Ideas that fitted into my mind like birds flitting past my cell window. There are ruminations on this or that, outlines of projects I hope to write about in the future. Bits and pieces, unconnected fragments. They do not show that I am a man ideologically committed to communism. If the government will make public all my notes, the charges against me will fall of their own weight. Anyone who examines the material will see my values: my hatred of oppression and exploitation, my groping in the political wilderness for a way out of these iniquities, how I have driven myself in the quest for answers! This search has nothing to do with communism.

How should I define my ideological position? Before I attempt that, two points require clarification.

First, I regard myself as a free thinker not bound by any ideological system. I hope my ideas are neither shaped by personal ambition nor yield to intimidation and that they are also unfettered by any dogma or creed. Thus I have never defined myself as an adherent of any "ism." I belong in the creative tension formed by the chaos of freedom. A natural pool swirls with cross currents of ideas, values, systems, experiences. By diving into that pool again and again I hope to come up with a few grains of truth. I stand beside that pool poised for the next dive.

Secondly, I am ideologically unfinished. That's a crude way of saying that I have never accepted one ideology as my operative value system. So far I have never found one system of thought that was logically convincing. I am still looking. In a sense, this is a shameful admission, but there are extenuating circumstances, I think. An individual's beliefs and conscience must be free, and the process that shapes them must also be open, competitive, eclectic. Man has a natural right to find his own values. Even the Yushin Constitution, promulgated by Park Chung Hee in December, 1972, guarantees this right to South Korean society. Nevertheless, intellectual life and value formulation are totally controlled in our country. A single ideology with its

priorities, preferences, tabus and sanctions is dominant.

Consider the spiritual ethos of South Korea. The flow of information is controlled. One can only read a limited number of authorized books. My ideological education is incomplete.

Under these conditions surely there is virtually no possibility of autogenous communism sprouting here. Our conditioned reflex to "communists" was to imagine red-faced devils with horns growing out of their heads and long claws dripping with blood. Every South Korean below the age of 30 has been educated and indoctrinated this way. Furthermore, we have never been taught anything about communism except emotional diatribes against it. Even if a few curious people secretly read some leftist books, how could they turn into full-fledged communists with a firm grasp of dialectics, party history and doctrine? No "autogenous communist" could emerge from the younger generation. That includes me. Far from being a committed communist, as the KCIA charges, I have no reliable information about the nature of communism or what life is like in a socialist country. The charge that I am a communist is utterly groundless.

DEMOCRACY, REVOLUTION, VIOLENCE

I want to identify with the oppressed, the exploited, the troubled and the despised. I want that love to be dedicated, passionate, and manifested in practical ways. This is the totality of my self-imposed task for humanity, the alpha and the omega of my intellectual search. I hope that my odyssey will be understood as a love for mankind.

My desire to love the brotherhood of man makes me hate the oppression and exploitation that dehumanizes him. He who exploits others corrupts himself. Thus I fight against oppression and exploitation; that struggle is my existence.

I became a Catholic because Catholicism conveyed a universal message. Not only that spiritual and material burdens could be lifted from man but also that oppression itself could be ended by the salvation of both the oppressor and the oppressed. Catholicism is capable of assimilating and synthesizing these contradictory and conflicting ideologies, theories, and value standards into a universal truth.

My beliefs spring from a confident love for the common people. I have opposed the Park regime and ridiculed the criminal gangleaders looting this country. I have grown up as one of the oppressed masses. That perspective enabled me to see that a pernicious elitist bias permeates our society. The oppressors say the masses are base, ugly, morally depraved, innately lazy, untrustworthy, ignorant and a spiritless, inferior race. But the common people I have known were not like that. They were honest and industrious. They may have looked stupid to a Seoul bureaucrat but they were endowed with a rich, native intelligence. Although they seemed listless, they possessed enormous inner strength and determination. They may have been rough, not very sophisticated, but they had genuine affection for their friends and neighbors. The common people I knew were proud, full of an unassuming vitality.

I have total confidence in the people. Given the opportunity they will find correct solutions to their problems. And their time is coming. The people cannot be denied their rights and justice much longer. My confidence in the people has led me to trust their ability to determine their own fate.

What is democracy? It is an ideology opposed to silence, a system that respects a free Logos and freedom of speech. It encourages the cacophony of dissent. A political system where everything is not revealed to the public is not a democracy. I believe that the truth, only the truth, will liberate man. A public consciousness dulled by soporific incantations and smothered in darkness can be liberated by the truth. Only when the people struggle out of the darkness, driven along by the very chaos of their opposition to authority, will they reach the sun-drenched fields. Then they can head toward Canaan, the land of justice and freedom promised by the Creator. This is my dream, my faith.

Democracy does not require a "benevolent ruler who loves the people." A ruler who fears the people's wrath and weapons is preferable. Democracy entails an uncompromising rejection of oppression. There is no democracy as long as the people cannot depose an undesirable ruler. Thus democracy does not deny the people the right of revolution; on the contrary, that fundamental right is the last guarantee of popular sovereignty. This obvious truth must never be forgotten.

The right of revolution, the constant and eternal possibility of overthrowing illegitimate authority, is the ultimate sanction against misrule that enables the people to defend themselves from oppression and exploitation. Rulers, of course, make revolution illegal; even discussion of it is banned as subversive. Thus they can continue their political and economic domination. But that is why I must support resistance and revolution.

Sooner or later resistance and revolution lead to the phenomenon of violence. When the violence of authority sustains oppression, the people's will is crushed, their best leaders are killed, and the rest are cowed into submission. The "silence of law and order" settles grimly across the land. Then an antithetical situation exists where violence must shatter this macabre order. To a degree, I approve of this kind of violence. No, that is not strong enough. I must approve of it. I reject the violence of oppression and accept the violence of resistance. I reject dehumanizing violence and accept the violence that restores human dignity. It could justly be called a "violence of love."

Violence and destructiveness obviously bring suffering and hardship. But we must sometimes cause and endure suffering. Never is this more true than when the people are dozing in silent submission, when they cannot be awakened from their torpor. To preach "nonviolence" at such a time leaves them defenseless before their enemies. When the people must be awakened and sent resolutely off to battle, violence is unavoidable. Gandhi and Franz Fanon agonized over this dilemma. Father Camilio Torres took a rifle and joined the people. He died with them, the weapon never fired. The fallen priest with his rifle epitomized godliness. I do not know if his beliefs and methods were correct or not, but the purity of his love always moves me to tears. He staggered along his road to Golotha with uncertain tread. He was prepared to commit a sin out of a love for others. He was not afraid to burn in the depths of eternal hell.

True nonviolence requires total non-compliance and non-cooperation. It concedes nothing to the oppressors. The superficial kind of non-violence, which makes limited gestures of opposition, is just another form of craven cooperation with authorities. Cowardly nonviolence

is the moral equivalent to cruel violence because with both the people get crushed. On the other hand, the "violence of love" is essentially the same as a "courageous nonviolence" in that it arms the people against their foes. I approve of the "violence of love" but I am also a proponent of true nonviolence.

The revolution I support will be a synthesis of true nonviolence and an agonized violence of love. (I am now working on a long ballad, "Chang Il Tam," set against this background.)

While I grant that the violence of Blanquism can light the psychological fuse to revolution, I do not anticipate or support a "lucky revolution" achieved by a small number of armed groups committing terrorist acts of violence. That is why I have eschewed the formation of or membership in secret organizations and have participated in activities consistent with the democratic process: writing and petitions, rallies, and prayer meetings.

My vision of a revolution is one to create a unified Korea based on freedom, democracy, self-reliance, and peace. More fundamentally, however, it must enable the Korean people to decide their own fate. I can confidently support such a revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY RELIGION: THE WORLD OF "CHANG IL TAM."

The more I search for answers, the more contradictory ideas I find and the more confused I am. Yet the antagonistic diversity of these systems of thought makes me strive even more for faith in the one absolute being. I believe such faith is attainable.

Must revolution reject religion and religion be the foe of revolution? I think the answer is, "No." Perhaps by this reply alone I could not be a Marxist-Leninist. But the Marxist dictum that religion is the opiate of the masses is only a partial truth applicable to one aspect of religion.

When a people have been brutally misruled and exploited for a long time, they lose their passion for justice and their affection for

their fellow man. Committed only to self-survival, they lapse into an individualistic materialism. Their near-crazed resentment and rage at social and economic conditions, diverted into frustration and self-hatred, is repeatedly dissipated in fragmented, anomic actions. Our prisons are full of lower class criminals, thrown there by a ruling elite that spits on the poor and flourishes on social injustice. The prisoners' roster of crimes is diverse: armed robbery, theft, murder, desertion from military service, kidnapping, etc. Yet their wretched tragedy has a common origin in frustration and isolation.

The chief priests and Pharisees defuse the people's bitter resentment and moral indignation with sentimental charity. The people are emasculated by mercy. The god of philanthropy serves the oppressor by turning the people into a mob of beggars.

In similar situations of bondage and deprivation, prophetic religions of love arise in the wilderness and shake the emotions of the oppressed and mistreated people. The slumbering masses awaken like a thunderclap; their human and divine qualities suddenly shine forth. The mystery of resurrection — revolution. That resurrection fashions people in God's image, opens their eyes to their own nobility and turns their frustration and self-hatred into eschatological hope. This kind of resurrection changes a selfish, individualistic, escapist anomine into a fraternal, united, realistic commitment to the common good.

My ballad "Chang Il Tam" attempts to express these ideas through the teachings and intellectual pilgrimage of one holy man who speaks in the form of gospels. However, the Park regime has seized my notes as proof of a "conspiracy to publish subversive materials."

Chang Il Tam is a thief, the son of a prostitute and a *paekchong* [an out-caste strata which performs unclean tasks such as slaughtering animals, tanning, etc.] A failure in life, despondent, Chang suddenly attains enlightenment and becomes a preacher of liberation. Chang emulates Im Kok Chong [Korea's legendary Robin Hood] in believing that the poor should "reliberate" what the rich have stolen from them and divide it equally among the needy. He begins stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, is arrested and thrown into jail, whereupon he teaches the other prisoners about revolution. One day Chang

is unfairly disciplined. Angrily throwing caution to the winds, he shouts "We must be liberated! Down with the hated bourgeoisie!" (My working notes cover only a portion of his proselytizing in prison; these are his early radical ideas. The government claims they are identical with my ideas and therefore constitute irrefutable proof that I am a communist!)

Chang escapes from prison, is hunted by the police, and finally goes to live on Mt. Kyeryong and preaches about a paradise in the land of the Eastern Sea [Korea, Ed.]. He preaches "community ownership of property," teaches about revolution, stresses the unity of prayer and action, and advocates "resistance against the tide." His major ideas include "the transformation of the lowest into heaven," that the traveller's path from this world to heaven is revolution; the need to purge the wild beasts that lurk within the hearts of men, symbolic of the *paekchong's* occupation; and that this world is corrupt but in the next world they will visit the paradise in the Eastern Sea.

Chang Il Tam preaches to the workers and farmers. He builds an altar in the wilderness, starts a huge bonfire, and casts everything old into the flames. He teaches the people that although violence is unavoidable, "Tan" is desirable. Chang leads the multitude toward the evil palace in the capital, Seoul. The throng all carry beggar's cans. At this point Chang proclaims that paradise is "to share food with others" and that "food is heaven." They reach the capital where food is abundant and continue through the city on the eternal journey toward paradise where food is shared by all. (This journey implies an endless transmigratory discipline: to the destination and then a return to a place where there is no food.)

During the march to Seoul, Chang is defeated in a battle. The government offers a reward, and the traitor Judas turns Chang in. Chang remains silent, saying nothing in his own defense. He is convicted of violating the Anti-Communist Law, the National Security Law, and inciting rebellion. Chang is taken out to be executed and just before he is beheaded, breaks his silence and sings a song, "Food is heaven."

Food is heaven
You can't make it on your own
Food should be shared
Food is heaven.

We all see
The same stars in heaven
How natural that we
All share the same food.

Food is heaven
As we eat
God enters us
Food is heaven.

Oh, food
Should be shared by all.

Chang is resurrected three days later. His severed head seeks out the traitor Judas, decapitates him, and places itself on his trunk. The traitor's body is joined with the saint's destiny. This weird union of holiness, goodness, and truth, accomplished through Judas' wicked intelligence, is both Chang's revenge and salvation for the sinner. It expresses the manifold paradoxes of Chang's thought.

DID I VIOLATE THE ANTI-COMMUNIST LAW?

The charge that I am a communist rests on three allegations. First, that my notebooks for "Chang Il Tam" and other works contain statements favorable to North Korea. Second, that my statements about the so-called People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) "praise, encourage, and support" a subversive organization. Thirdly, that my possession of several books was beneficial to North Korea because they "praise, encourage, and support" subversive ideas.

National security laws have been misused in South Korea for many years. The constant, expedient, indiscriminate and conspiratorial application of the dreaded Article Four of the Anti-Communist Law has been the most malevolent restriction on the intellectual and

spiritual growth of the republic.* It has been used to deprive us of freedom of speech and to impose a suffocating culture of silence that has killed democracy and sustained a corrupt dictatorship. I oppose the misuse of Article Four with every ounce of strength in my body. It is repugnant to everything I believe in and stand for. I call on others to oppose the regime's attempt to gag me with this filthy rag of a law. We must have freedom of thought and expression. Individuality — conscience and creativity — must be protected.

I shall discuss the state's allegations one by one. I was threatened by the KCIA interrogators to admit that some of my notes for "Chang Il Tam" were based on Mao Tse Tung's thought. But, the work draws on the seminal ideas, theories, and accomplishments of world civilization. Mao's *On Contradiction* is an important contribution to politics. The KCIA were so proud of themselves! At last they had found a real "communist connection." They said I was a Maoist who joined the Catholic Church because I followed Mao's teaching on the transformation and unity of antagonisms. My notes included the words, "God and revolution, bread and freedom, the unity of earth and heaven," all phrases that correspond to the resolution of contradictions. To my astonishment, the KCIA even attributed my use of the word "resurrection" to Mao! They said the "resolution" of death into resurrection was the resolution of a contradiction! Even perverse sophistry has its limits, one would think. Perhaps under the circumstances I can be excused for not admiring the vivid imagination and creativity of the prosecutor.

The police of the Republic of Korea are not much for subtle distinctions. They regard materialism as identical with metaphysics. At the faintest whiff of dialectics, they stick the communist label on

* Article Four of the Anti-Communist Law states: 1. Any person who has benefitted the anti-State organization by praising, encouraging or siding with or through other means the activities of an anti-State organization or their components or the communist organizations outside the Republic of Korea shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years. 2. The same penalty shall apply to any person who has, for the purpose of committing the acts as provided for in the foregoing paragraph, produced, imported, duplicated, kept in custody, transported, disseminated, sold or acquired documents, drawings and any other similar means of expression.

you. In South Korea, Lao Tzu, Confucius, Jesus, the Buddha, anybody and everybody concerned with fundamental truth or essential reality would be a communist.

I said that it would be premature to categorize "Chang Il Tam." But I can say that it is not socialist realism, a vehicle for Marxist ideas. The work is apocalyptic, prophetic, full of allegory, mystery, and symbolism. I use supermatural occurrences and the fanciful events conjured up by the sensitivity and imagination of peasants and workers. I dab in a touch of the abstract with bizarre illusions. I use death, chaos, insecurity, terror, revolution, despair, melancholy, atrocities, executions and decadence to create the overall tone. I attempt to describe a ghastly, bloodsoaked, transitional period by the use of furious language and violent incidents. My work bears no resemblance to the pallid tone, naturalistic descriptions, and realistic plots of conventional socialist writing. There are no romances between steel workers and their blast furnaces in "Chang Il Tam."

This is what I am working on. It is far from finished. Nevertheless, the government says it was written "to aid the Northern puppet regime." What can I say? There has been much publicity recently about the government's "Five Year Plan to Encourage Literature." But what they are doing to me is how they really "encourage" literature.

Let's look at the second allegation. I had notes for a play called "Maltuk" about a day laborer by that name who fights against the bourgeoisie. The police and KCIA insist that this is a Marxist writing which calls for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by workers and peasants. They are so eager to find communists that they react like Pavlov's dog to the word "bourgeoisie" and neurotically grab the Anti-Communist Law. Just because Marx called a flower a flower, am I supposed to call it something else?

"Maltuk" is based on the rebellious servant character in traditional mask dramas. The plot evolves from a popular protest against corruption and privilege. The protagonist is a laborer but he is not trying to start a revolution to impose a dictatorship of the proletariat. I am trying to portray a rebel from the lowest strata of society, far lower than organized industrial workers, in fact. My idea was to make my

hero a “debased *ch’ormin*,” a strata shunned by society as subhuman. He is a typical dehumanized South Korean, spiritually and physically robbed of his manhood. I want to describe his despair and the divine inspiration that rescues him. I will show the “reciprocal effect of action and prayer” which leads him to resist and regain his human dignity. I placed this interaction in Maltuk, a “rebellious, sweaty, dirty South Korean peasant” and stressed hope. I tried to describe a certain world of “community” which appears in the resultant eschatological illusion. This is also an illusory manifestation of an oppression-free society, the eternal theme of true art. The drama is sustained by an imagination rooted in Christian eschatology; it is not derived from any political ideology. The allegation that it “was written to aid the Northern puppets” could not be more preposterous.

I want to explain why I wrote “Five Bandits,” “Groundless Rumors,” “Chang Il Tam,” “Maltuk” and other works. So they could be used by someone? No. Because I wanted to write them. I had no choice: They were deep inside me, stirring, swirling; I had to let them burst out. I wrote because I had to. That was the only reason.

Next, the “People’s Revolutionary Party” matter. I wrote about the torture of Ha Chae Wan and I held a press conference to ask for the release of the “PRP” prisoners. The government terms these actions as “support for the propaganda activities of the Northern puppets” that “benefitted the People’s Revolutionary Party, a subversive organization.”

For the sake of argument, let’s say that my statement about the torture of the “PRP” prisoners was identical with the North Korean “propaganda” on the case. The question really is, did I “support” their version or did they “support” mine? They did not meet Ha Chae Wan. I met him and I heard his story directly from him. I just told the world what I heard. I did not say Ha Chae Wan was tortured on the basis of a North Korean broadcast. Does similarity of content mean “support?” If it does, thousands of ordinary citizens, intellectuals, religious leaders, students and politicians who demanded the “release of the democratic leaders” arrested in 1974 must be fellow travellers, since the North certainly must have advocated the

same thing. Don't they all have to be charged under the Anti-Communist Law? Hasn't this nonsense gone too far?

I know the "PRP" men were tortured. What is the KCIA anyway? We all know they have tortured students and opposition party National Assembly members. Recently the National Assembly floor leader of the ruling Democratic Republican Party revealed that he also had been tortured by the KCIA. That is how they function; brutality and terror are their standard operating procedure. Anyone who thinks the "PRP" prisoners, who were being set up as communists for execution, were not tortured ought to have his head examined. I spoke only about facts I heard with my own ears and saw with my own eyes; facts I am absolutely certain of.

Finally, we come to the most absurd items in the indictment, that some of the books in my storage shed were a threat to the state. The magazines *Hanyang* and *Chongmaek* I read in 1964. Mao's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* I read about 1969. I read these books and put them away years ago. How did these volumes gathering dust in my shed help North Korea?

I believe that all who oppose repression and dictatorship and defend freedom, justice and the rights of conscience still remain committed to the struggle against the corrupt Park regime. When I was released from prison on February 15, I reconfirmed my vow to resist this dictatorship as long as I live. I have explained in this statement the spurious charges against me. All those who know me will disregard any kind of slander against me at variance with this statement. Your understanding comforts me.

My prison notebooks contain ample proof that this statement is true. And more. I hope you can prevent their destruction.

Why have we been fighting against the Park regime? For human liberation. Nothing is more important. We must press ahead. We will not be stopped. We shall overcome.

The government constantly asserts that the threat from North Korea is so serious that civil rights are an impermissible luxury. But

a corrupt, immoral dictatorship is the greatest spur to communism. What better argument do the communists have than the Park regime? Dictatorial rule will never make South Korea secure. A country is strong and viable only when its people are defending their freedom.

If we have no basic rights or representative government, what is there for us to defend? Our hopeless privation and disease, our endless despair and humiliation? Are we to risk our lives for these? In every neighborhood and village we must shout our opposition to this sterile dilemma.

We are not alone in this struggle. Men and women all over the world concerned with freedom will generously support our struggle. Our age demands truth and the passion to endure the suffering necessary to learn the truth.

We want to be free. To taste, feel and transmit to our children the freedom so long promised in South Korea. We must commit everything we are and hope to be free, to this noble cause. My prayers are with all of you in this courageous struggle.

Postscript

Just before I was arrested in March the authorities searched my country house and the home where my child was staying. They seized four or five of my private notebooks. At first I wasn't sure what they were after, but the interrogator's questions provided a clue. They asked, "Werent't you asked to write a poem about the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping?" and "Where is that manuscript?"

I am not allowed to receive visitors or mail, to write anything, or even read the Bible. I cannot move around very much. This gloomy, cramped cell is a bit less than seven feet by seven.

I sit there in the dark angrily thinking about the uncertain future. But prison has not dimmed my spirits. These miserable conditions and the endless waiting have made me more determined than ever.

I feel a quiet composure, 'almost serenity. But I am terribly worried about what may happen to the individuals involved in making this statement public. My friends, please help these good people.

Do not grieve for me,

We will surely see each other again soon.

12. My Involvement and Personal Knowledge of So-called “People’s Revolutionary Party” in S. Korea

By Rev. James Sinnott

**This document by Rev. James Sinnott is a
detailed account of his experience with the
so-called “People’s Revolutionary Party.”**

(1) How Foreign Missionaries Got Involved in the Case

“It’s explosive material, but we have checked it out, back even ten years.”

George Ogle, Methodist missionary, was telling the Monday night gathering of Americans and Canadians about the People’s Revolutionary Party.

Our group, which met weekly, had labeled the men of that party as “et cetera.” They had last place in our efforts to help the political prisoners of South Korea. They didn’t happen to be Christians and churchmen, to begin with, plus students known to us numbered more than a hundred in jail.

And they were in jail because they wittingly or not, had “aided and abetted the Communists, the People’s Revolutionary Party, in their attempt at a violent and bloody overthrow of the government.”

And just that label, “Communist”, was enough to scare us off from even thinking deeply about the men.

The wives had come and asked us for help. And investigation showed that the charges against these men were arrogant falsehoods. Ten years ago or now, October 1974, there was never any such thing as a

People's Revolutionary Party. And the men having concocted it assumed no one would dare question their word, assumed these unimportant men would be ignored....

And before the month was out, George Ogle had spent a night in Nam San the famous Korean Central Intelligence Agency building, from which emanated rumors of torture of many arrested, all without warrant, since last April. Basement rooms so crowded with "dissidents" being interrogated that there was not space enough for all. You had to wait your turn to be tortured, kept awake 2 or 3 nights, a karate chop to your neck if you dozed, your fingers crushed around a ballpoint pen woven through them. No scares, just a little swelling, but a lot of pain.

The men assigned to you are first told the "information" they are to get out of you. They work on you until you admit whatever it is you are ordered to admit. It is an efficient operation. These agents are trained by Americans.

"How dare you question the court decision?", George Ogle was asked, "it has been decided that these men are guilty, what right have you to speak contrary to that?"

George had prayed for the PRP men, and had asked in a sermon that there be further investigation of the guilt.

He was ordered not only never again to preach about these men, but never to pray for them....

You cannot know what a gift a free press is until you live in a land that allows no freedom in any of the media. This not only keeps the facts from the people, but allows the regime to lie to them outright, to bombard them with childish and absurd distortions of everything until you can't think straight.

But the American presence in Korea gives us a little leeway. It has been said that president Park has been ready on several occasions to toss out all foreign correspondents, his more moderate advisors have cautioned him not to....

George Ogle took the troubles of the PRP to the American press. The press didn't get tossed out, but George Ogle did.

A week after the PRP story appeared in the *New York Times* (November 26, 1974), proceedings against George started and he was forcibly put on a plane on the 14th of December....

And so we were warned again: "Hands off the PRP."

But the reaction against George's expulsion was immediate and strong. Many appeals were made for a civil, open trial for the men. All were denied and ignored. Finally the Law Ministry announced that any such appeal was an offense against the Anti-Communist Law.

(2) The Wives of the PRP Men, Their Testimony

The wives blossomed into eloquent defenders. We lent them our pulpits. Then it was their turn to be taken in to the KCIA headquarters at Nam San, South Korea.

It was now 1975, the International Year of Women. The men of the KCIA were given a mission: get the wives to KCIA in some way. Say you are friends of the husband, say you want to talk to them in a tea room in private, that it will help the husbands. Once you get them to Nam San, extract promises that they will keep quiet, stop calling the case a frame-up. And if possible without too much difficulty, get their promises written, that they will stay away from the churches. And any good agent worth his salt ought to be able to get a few signed confessions that their husbands are really guilty.

Ten wives were brought in. Some were incorrigible, tougher than the agents. "So you can torture innocent people!" (Mr. Tjen's wife told them.) ("I pay taxes to feed the likes of you!")...

Mrs. Lee, a quiet voiced, 26 year old mother of three, had her 13 month old baby with her. The man had promised she would be back home in an hour. After he got her there he said: "You will be here until you sign what we tell you to. One month, two months, it doesn't matter."

“They didn’t even give me water or food for the baby,” Mrs. Lee said later, “after a day, the man who cleans the rooms brought some crackers for the baby. He was scolded for interfering with the interrogation.”

Mrs. Kim left 3 children home alone. The oldest a 9 year old boy. She too was kept for 2 nights, though she pleaded for the safety of her children.

“Don’t worry about your children. It would be better if they died than to grow up bearing the shame of their father’s guilt,” her interrogator told her.

This woman finally did sign some papers, in a panic that her children needed her. This forced evidence is what the Supreme Court referred to when they declared: “There is other evidence against these men not yet made public.”

As is the rule before being allowed to leave KCIA hqts, the wives had to sign promises that they would never divulge what occurred there.

Only days later, they stood in churches, in front of thousands, and told what they had been through. So much faith did they have that if only the truth were told, justice would be done.

A short look at the evidence and it is easy to understand why the State forbids any questioning....

The eight under sentence of death are supposed to be the masterminds of the plot to overthrow Park. These eight were not all known to each other before their arrest.

By law, the men were able to make statements at the time of their sentencing: “I was tortured into making a false confession,” said one. And another: “Look at my leg, see how it is scarred from the torture!” He tried to bring the wound into view.

“Stop that!” the prosecuting attorney shouted, “you will find out what real torture is if you act like that!” The judge listened to it all

gravely. Twelve eyewitnesses swore to me of the truth of this exchange.

The youngest sentenced to death, Yo Jong Nam: "They struck me so hard that now I am deaf in one ear."

And the official Court records were falsified; where the men answered "No, I am not.", the record reads: "Yes, I am."

And these men were tricked into captivity. In May, for example, a visitor came early in the morning and said: "I am from the home town of Mr. X. He lives near here. Can you show me where?" The man who left his home on this to help a stranger find someone was never seen again except from a distance at the military trial.

The others were taken in by like methods. And also never seen again. There was never a warrant for arrest. There was no clue as to where they were until 3 weeks later when the roundup of the People's Revolutionary Party was announced by the chief fabricator, the same man who as Attorney General invented the "party" 10 years before, Mr. Shin Jik Soo, present Chief of the KCIA.

"Name 20 men you know!"

"What 20 men?" Mr. Ha, under torture, asked.

"Neighbors, classmates, any 20 men, name them!"

In his innocence, Mr. Ha did so. The 20 he named were brought in. The more likely of them were jailed as PRP members.

During those busy 3 weeks in May, Mr. Shin Jik Soo's men ransacked the homes looking for evidence. They found a book entitled "The Russian Revolution". It was entered as evidence that the owner was a Communist, shown to a grave looking judge by a serious faced prosecutor. This book, on anti-communist, was written by an American, translated by a South Korean, approved to be printed by the South Korean Ministry of Education.

Mr. Woo had bought a transistor radio for his daughter days

before his arrest. These radios receive programs from North Korea. This radio was the key evidence against Mr. Woo. Anybody can buy these radios anywhere in South Korea.

From another house all they could find to take away was campaign literature from the last election. But it was opposition party literature.

“Where is your basement entrance?”, the searchers demanded.

“I don’t have a basement”, the housewife replied.

“You must have a basement” he demanded, frustrated at finding nothing that could be turned into evidence.

The intelligence agencies of other nations complacently watched the construction of this case. They had it all figured out. These PRP men would be sentenced severely, kept in jail for a long time as the scapegoats, then in a big show of clemency they would be released, or at least have their sentences reduced. The lack of evidence against them demanded such a scenario.

So believed the cynics, the churchmen, even the government employees right down to the police concerned with the case. Even one of the torturers said to his victim: “Bear up, this has to be done for the good of the country. Even though it is not true, confess to it for the good of us all.”

(3) The Involvement of Poet Kim Chi Ha

Focus was sharpened on the PRP when most of the other “political prisoners” arrested in April ’74 were released in mid-February ’75.

The poet Kim Chi Ha came out of prison with snatches of truth about the PRP learned from Mr. Ha in the next cell. Kim Chi Ha is a man who has an almost physical abhorrence for any kind of corruption and injustice. He was routinely arrested and beaten after a poem was published. His descriptions of the “elite” in South Korea, the Army

generals in their mansions, the fat factory owners and their mistresses, the fawning Cabinet Ministers, are graphic and earthy and infuriating.... He is never allowed to be published there, but in Japan he is a sellout every time his works are reprinted.

Out of prison, Kim Chi Ha quickly learned more about the case and began in his own special way, to talk. Before 500 he said: "The Park government stinks worse than the worst rotten fish." In a press interview he was asked who could possibly take over from Park Chung Hee, there seemed to be no one on the horizon. Poet Kim answered: "Anybody could do a better job than Park."

Three weeks after his release, Kim Chi Ha was back in jail, snatched off the street, away from his wife and 11 month old child, born while his father was in prison.

Three more weeks and a "confession" is published. "The poet admits to aiding the Communist cause." Was he tortured into it? During those 3 weeks he was transported daily from the prison at West Gate to Nam San KCIA Headquarters.

There is a new government pamphlet "proving" that the poet is a Communist. It is taught at the frequent lectures that the civilian home guard (every man under 40) must attend. It is also being taught that Christian churchmen, especially foreign ones, are not only dupes of the Communists, and that some actually are. How else explain their advocacy of the PRP?

(4) Student Unrest, Jailing and Torture

Student unrest in Korea is unlike anywhere else in the world. It is a historical responsibility. If there were built-in checks and balances to curb injustice it might not be necessary. But as it is, the most dedicated and brightest of Korea's young find themselves forced to take to the street when corruption becomes unbearable.

April is the usual season of protest, but had Park killed student courage by jailing and torturing in April '74? It would not seem so. Released from prison in mid-February, the students did not fear to

broadcast the horrors they had undergone: stripped naked and doused with cold water and beaten with boards and made to crouch over a stick forced behind the knees, a man standing on the thighs to increase the pressure. Encircled by five men all kicking the victim. Then hands and feet tied and strung up like a slain deer, head lower than feet, suspended between two desks in an office room at KCIA, a towel and a kettle of water complete the preparations. The towel is forced into the mouth, so spitting out is not possible. Water is poured up the nose and into the mouth until the stomach swells and the subject faints from lack of breath. Then we pause and state our purpose: "This treatment will continue until you confess that you planned violent and bloody overthrow of the government."

Some lasted a night, some a week, one student lasted six weeks. I asked him why he waited so long. He gave me a look of incomprehension. I rephrased the question: "Why did you confess? If you could hold out that long, why did you finally confess?"

"My courage was not sufficient," he answered shamefacedly, still regretting that he was weak enough to confess to something that he had not done.

Probably the most damaging statement was made by Lee Chul, the 28 year old army veteran and Sociology major at Seoul National University. He is admittedly the student who tried to organize the inter-school group to plan the protests. Lee Chul is painted as a wild-eyed fanatic. He was the subject of a three-week man hunt in April '74, put under a death sentence, made the villain of radio and television dramas.

He was picked up April 24th '74 disguised as a high school boy. He is slight in build and short and young and quite innocent-looking. Maybe when he removed his schoolboy's cap he was caught out. He is already losing his hair. Lee Chul's damaging statement was that he had never heard of any People's Revolutionary Party or had any contact with any group other than students.

(5) Background on the Eight under the Sentence of Death

With the release of the others, more attention focused on the PRP and our casual Monday night group became the center, among foreigners, where all this unbearable information collected. It was almost like we knew the PRP men personally. Five of them were from a city 100 miles south of Seoul, Taegu. One man was a keeper of bees, one ran a bathhouse, another was a foreman in a lumberyard, the fourth was unemployed, the last, an unmarried 29 year old who earned money tutoring children. The remaining three lived in Seoul, Mr. Woo was on the board of directors of a small company that dealt in stamps. ("My husband is a lot like you", Mrs. Woo said to a gentlemanly looking policeman in the stationhouse where 20 of us had been taken, "he isn't a criminal, but a man who wants to raise his four children well.") Also from Seoul is Mr. Lee, whose wife and baby daughter went without food and water at KCIA hqts, Mr. Lee also has two sons five and four. He taught Japanese at a business school.

Mr. Kim, whose wife signed some papers (and so deeply regretted it that she bought rat poison to kill herself, tore up all her wedding pictures), was a teacher in a girls high school in Seoul. Mrs. Kim is a very pliant, mild and dependent woman. But instead of suicide, she did her "penance" by standing up in front of hundreds and telling what happened to her at KCIA. Threatened again by the KCIA, she went to the foreign press and told the story, a thing all the wives are told is a grave offense against the government. They all seemed almost present in our Monday night group.

(6) The Scene in the Supreme Court, Sit-in, Expulsion

The long delayed Supreme Court decision on the case was set for April eighth 1975. The defendants are not present at such events, only the 13 judges and the prosecuting attorney. Admission to the court-room was by ticket only for this particular hearing. There were no defense lawyers present in the room.

The event took ten minutes. The Chief Justice read off a confirmation of the lower court verdict, the 13 judges rose and filed out.

“Justices!”, one of the wives called out, “Please wait, listen to what I have to say!”

The Justices ignored her voice, but seemed to move more quickly to their door. The other women were crying and shouting now, too, and the reporters were hurrying to get statements from them before the guards hustled them out the back door. Soon the wives and a few from the Monday night group found themselves in possession of the Supreme Court Chambers.

Why were the women so hysterical? Mrs. Woo, always the lady, sat there beating her umbrella against the bench until pieces of it were flying off. Didn't we all expect this verdict? In a week, in a month, maybe, the death sentences will be commuted... I was thinking this, but I was shouting as loudly as the wives about the injustice being done.

The Justices had an afternoon session coming up, so what had developed in a sit-in was broken up by a hard looking bunch of plain-clothesmen who pushed, dragged and carried the resisting women down to a waiting police bus. They were released at a far point in the city.

There was a prayer meeting at the Cathedral that night. Some of the women were there, all were hoarse and exhausted....

(7) The Hanging

The prayer meeting ended at ten. Six hours later all eight men were hanged.

A deep and utter shock possessed us all. This is the thing that was not going to happen. And what about the appeal? The appeal that anybody sentenced to death is given by law?

They were dead. We only heard it on the radio. The wives only heard it on the radio.

It wasn't until three in the afternoon that we all knew and gathered outside West Gate Prison where the hanging of 8 men took

place. For a hundred yards either side of the prison gate, which opens onto a main city street, the sidewalk was empty. Police had barricaded it off. Traffic jeeps patrolled the other side of the street, ordering people to move along, stop congregating.

We got through the police line and asked at the gate to see the wives. "They are not here," lied the police.

I had returned to where I was staying in Seoul at 2 that afternoon and had found a phone message written for me that I will never forget: "The wives are waiting for you at West Gate Prison." I saw this and knew that the men had been hung.

"We know the wives are here", we said, demanding entrance. It was not given, but soon, one by one the women started coming out. They were helped by relatives, half dragging them as they wept. They all said in almost the same words: "And they never let me visit him, not once in a year."

And when they got close enough to a policeman: "You said if we stayed quiet everything would be all right. Is this what you meant?" Some of them reached out and beat at the police. To hide this scene from the people across the street, three riot buses were brought and parked across the entrance to the prison. They were filled with waiting plainclothesmen, there to break up any possible demonstration.

We learned that the three bodies of the men who lived in Seoul were being returned to the wives and we dispersed to the homes of the victims.

(8) Examination of the Corpses

The next morning, at the request of wives, a missionary doctor was asked to examine the bodies for marks of torture. There were police cordons around each house. "You will probably have difficulty getting to the house." We were told on the phone, but an hour later the police had melted away. It was almost as if they wanted us to go in.

I led the doctor to Mr. Lee's first. I stayed out in the yard, "in

case the police come back,” I said. But I had no wish to see the body.

“What bruises there are may be posthumous, and it has been a year since they were interrogated, so unless I X-ray, I have to say there are not definite marks of torture,” the doctor reported and we went on to the other House that had asked for the doctor.

Only a week after he was jailed in May '74 Mr. Woo had received a permission from the prison doctor to be absent from exercises because he had lost the use of his legs. Mr. Woo had smuggled this note from the doctor out to his wife between the pages of a book she had sent in for him to read. He had never had trouble with his legs before.

“You better ask the children to leave the room now, Mrs. Woo. The police may come back any time, so the doctor better hurry and...”

“It’s all right,” she interrupted me in a tone of emotional exhaustion, “the children have already seen the body.”

I had intended to leave the room with the children. Now I had no excuse to go. I was provoked and upset enough and really did not want to see.

On the floor at the side of the room under the windows, the body was under a clean white sheet. The doctor examined the legs first

The doctor finished examining the legs, covered them again, and folded the sheet down from the head.

I had never seen the body of a man that was hanged. From looking at the smiling picture of 45 year old Mr. Woo, and the faces of his four children, I looked at the face of his corpse above the stretched neck. It was not so much the discoloration as the grimace

His three daughters, 11, 15 and 16 and his son, Kou, aged 14, all wept again with their mother.

From someone present at the hanging it was later reported what Mr. Woo’s last words were: “My son Kou! Your father committed no

crime!”

(9) The Fight Over the Hearse

The family of Mr. Song Sang Jin, the beekeeper of Taegu, rented a hearse and told the driver to go to the church of Father Augustine Hahm. The sealed coffin could not yet be opened by the family. It had just been turned over to them at the back gate of the prison at nine o'clock on the morning of April 10th.

“The bodies of the criminals have been returned to their families”, the press announced to the world.

The hearse reached a rotary and motorcycle policemen ordered the driver take a road which was not the road to the church. The family of Mr. Song argued that it was not the right road and made the driver stop the car. The local police had not been told the reason why they were to redirect the hearse, and time was gained as the argument ensued. Phone calls were made by both sides and by the time the decision from on high came, there were 250 riot police and 70 friends of the Song family gathered.

The decision from on high was: “Under no circumstances allow the body to go to the church. Take it to the crematorium and burn it as you were first told to do.” Very provoked by the acts of the last 2 days, we 70 surrounded the hearse and meant to fight a battle we knew we would lose, but we refused to stand and do nothing. It took the police a good half hour and the help of a tow truck to get the hearse from us 70.

After the police rode away in their big buses, we walked down the street clothes ripped, dirty, bloodstains on a few of the ministers and priests.

We marched in the street the mile to the church and had a service for the absent body of Mr. Song. “Deliver us from evil.” The words took on new force, new meaning.

Near the end of this short prayer, word came that another body

had been taken en route to church and burned, the body of the 29 year old who used his one minute in court to say: "I was struck and am deaf in one ear."

Nobody got a chance to examine that ear.

(10) The Funeral of Mr. Woo

There was a quiet funeral the next day in the hill country north of Seoul. A warm spring April eleventh with the forsythia in bloom. The flower of new hope and joy mocked us at the graveside.

Mr. Woo's family are traditionally Buddhist, but many Christians were there each adding his own thoughts

"He died for the truth. He could have surrendered, informed on others with lies, got himself free, probably."

(And maybe President Park Chung Hee expected these men to do just that. That is how he got his start. He informed on his friends, his own brother. And his career began.)

"Mr. Woo, you are branded a criminal, your children the brood of a traitor. But one day soon it will be known what you truly are, a brave, good man

I returned from the funeral to learn that the phone had been ringing for me all day. It was the Justice Department, Immigration Section, calling me down for my third warning. My visa expired on April 28, it would not be renewed, and I was to leave Korea by April 30th.

Four Korean priests were kidnapped into KCIA at Nam San, one by one during these lovely April days. They were held overnight and the substance of the warning, the same as I got at immigration, "Stay away from those widows. The men are dead. The case is closed. Forget the entire affair!"

Four leading Protestant Ministers are now in jail, picked up in

April on utterly false “embezzling” charges. One man among them is the head of the National Council of Churches

It was Park Chung Hee’s personal decision to hang eight innocent men. His reason, as stated by Lee Hyo Sang, Acting Chairman of Park’s party, was “to frighten the hearts out of them.”

“Them?” The students, ready to rise up in protest in April. The churchmen who remain too vocal. Anybody who dares to oppose, see my fist in the face! I will rule by force and by fear.

But the charade goes on. Park insists the reason for all his terror is to keep the people in line because of the imminent danger of attack from the north.

US intelligence knows very well that this is not true

The day after the hanging, President Gerald Ford promised again that he would never abandon the agreements we now have with the Park government.

That was the headline in the tightly controlled Korean press right after the murder of eight men. It was only one line in Gerald Ford’s speech, but it tells the Korean people, the splendid, the deeply moral Korean people, it tells them where America stands. With the power, with the force, with the fear that is Park Chung Hee.

13. Let's Hold Aloft Banner of Democracy, Nation and Reunification

Following is the full text of a handbill distributed by the students at the Seoul, Koryo, Kyonghee, Seogang and other universities in South Korea on Nov. 18, 1975 when they rose in a nationwide uprising but were rounded up by the Park Chung Hee junta:

Having put up with all the intolerable humiliations and insults, we have today taken to the streets for glorious resistance in order to bring liberty, justice, independence and peaceful reunification. We have responded to an urgent call from our national history, breaking the long-forced silence and ending doubt, hesitation and indolence.

Look! The dark winds blowing from the dictator under the excuse of national security are roaring against a candlelight of freedom and democracy, subjecting the whole land to unending exploitation, maltreatment, humiliation and gag. A handful of the corrupt privileged and compradors have the fate of the Koreans at their mercy who are being misled to ruin and death.

Look! Dictator Park Chung Hee has refused to draw any due lesson from the stern judgement given by history upon the regimes of Thieu and Lon Nol, though he himself witnessed their only too natural destruction. Rather, he has begun to run wild like a dying man, distorting the facts about it.

They have again invoked a series of emergency measures and silenced all the nation.

Without any consent of the public, they have imposed what they termed a state of war upon the whole country, to suppress the fearful nation, despite the fact that the prospects for peace are still now substantially good and no gun report is heard.

They have instituted an anachronistic ban-the-human-rights law, dubbed the Public Security Law, eliminating all the traces of political freedoms in this country and driving numerous democrats, patriotic students and unfortunate citizens, into the same adverse circumstances as the Jew had under the fascist Hitler.

They created a "Civil Defense Corps" to turn the whole land into huge barracks and reinforced neighborhood units with five households each, so as to complete a nation-wide watch system. The result is that all the nation is constantly kept under surveillance on an unprecedented scale.

They have again imprisoned patriotic students, put Kim Dae Jung, Kim Chi Ha and Park Hyong Gyu and other democratic figures to a conspiratorial trial farce, secretly buried the body of Chang Jun Ha whose death is mysterious, intensified the oppression of the press, religious organizations, bar associations and other academic and intellectual circles, and hurriedly formed a Students Patriotic Corps, a puppet organization, a leftover from the defunct Liberal Party administration, with campus freedom liquidated.

They introduced a double tax called defense tax and antiquated poll tax called residence tax, increased sharply miscellaneous taxes and duties, and went the length of levying the so-called defense donations for uncertain purposes, which led to the bankruptcy of businessmen and minor traders and to the impoverishment of the masses.

In spite of the skyrocketing prices, driven by the desire to serve the monopoly cliques, they, while suppressing the labor and peasant movements, kept the wages and price of grains at the possible minimum level and aggravated the livelihood of the absolute majority of the population — the workers, peasants and salaried men.

They have ruthlessly dismantled the rickety houses en masse, uprooting the urban slum dwellers.

They have deprived Rep. Ms Kim Ok Sun of her basic rights and expelled her from the National Assembly on ground that she expressed criticism of them from the national viewpoint.

Look! In every nook and corner of the country there is a scene of oppression and exploitation, guarded with barbed wires and bristling bayonets, every move regarded as a target of surveillance and repression.

The masses of people, roaming hungry and dejected, are heard everywhere wailing and crying, echoing to the skies.

Minor freedoms, they allege, should be restricted for major freedoms under the present crisis over the security issues.

What they mean by major freedoms are the freedoms of a handful of the ruling circles to unrestrained exploitation and maximum privileges, and to the endless debauchery and pursuit of personal pleasures, whereas the minor freedoms are freedoms of speech, assembly, criticism and association, essential for the masses to feed themselves and enjoy the minimum level of human life, aren't they?

Were the present situation a true crisis, which freedoms are to be restricted to tide over it, the freedoms of the privileged classes or the freedoms of the masses of people?

Why do they argue that they cannot tolerate any criticism and restriction of their freedom of frequenting expensive restaurants and golflinks, while we should acquiesce in the abject slavery? For what? For whom?

We hereby declare in clearcut terms.

No amount of oppression can dampen the complaints, dissent and protest of the masses of people. With each passing day, the Park dictatorship will be confronted with a worsening crisis.

We ask the dictator Park Chung Hee with bitterness.

If the denial of the masses of the right to live and rape of political freedom and democracy continue at this rate, whom and what do we the youths defend on the preposterous front which is not worth safeguarding?

The dictator Park Chung Hee must clearly remember that nobody will risk his life to defend the dirty, corrupt regime and what it stands for — the never-ending humiliation, insult, oppression, exploitation, hunger and hard labor.

This is the truth of the current crisis. The cause of the ruin of Thieu and Lon Nol lies neither in the lack of support from big powers nor in the dearth of arms and troops, nor in granting the people too many freedoms. This must be misunderstood.

The root cause is that the two represented the corrupt and privileged classes and robbed the people of too many freedoms in order to maintain them in power.

When the war conflagrations were approaching Saigon and Phnom Penh, it was never those who championed democracy and were hated by the dictators as traitors that fled from their homeland, carrying with them gold, silver and other valuables; it was precisely the dictators themselves that fled — those who suppressed the democratic figures, monopolizing patriotism and preaching national security.

Herein lies a due lesson that we must learn from the developments in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The dictator Park Chung Hee is running headlong toward ruin, following in the filthy steps of Thieu and Lon Nol, avoiding this historic lesson.

Look! They find themselves odd men out in the international community!

They have become international beggars that are conducting kisaeng and mendicant diplomacy, wasting taxes extorted from the people.

They are inducing foreign monopoly capital, while selling out all the arteries of the national economy, in a bid to bring into the Korean Peninsula the foreign troops from the U.S., Japan and any other countries and bolster their rotten regime.

They, by so doing, have reduced our country to international outcasts barred from the non-alignment movement, the mainstay of the contemporary newborn countries.

They have indiscreetly declared a state of war instead of following a sincere reunification policy in line with the spirit of the north-south joint statement which provided for the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. They have welcomed without any reservation or condition the pledge made by Schlesinger to use nuclear arms which would throw the Korean Peninsula into nuclear holocausts, with the subsequent destruction of the whole nation.

Now, our nation is faced with a grave possibility of a new fratricidal nuclear war, contrary to the worldwide trend toward detente, excluded from the great current of world history, hopes becoming dimmer for national reunification, and unable to establish political independence and build a self-reliant national economy.

All these are misfortunes brought to the Korean nation by the dictator Park Chung Hee whose instinctive sense of crisis that no stone should be left unturned in order to maintain the corruption and rule by the privileged for ever.

There exists oppression and exploitation to protect corruption and vested rights; oppression and exploitation breeds resistance; so, a crisis grips the regime; a war atmosphere prevails because of the struggles to survive the crisis and a warphobia follows.

No subjugation will produce a cohesive public; when the public are united, nobody dares to insult or make light of us, and we will have no reason to shiver with fear of war, won't we? Therefore, we state. There will be no peace before a tyranny is ended. Without full restoration of liberty and democracy, nothing can save us from the ever-present danger of war and ruin.

Washington and Tokyo must get rid of an illusion that it is possible to preserve peace on the Korean Peninsula by backing the Park Chung Hee dictatorship.

This we demand solemnly in the name of our nation.

We cry with all our strength.

Only democratic procedures, an equal society, political independence and self-reliant economy will, guided by the spirit of the north-south joint statement for national peace, bring genuine national security and the security of the masses. They are for which we are ready to fight on the risk of our lives.

All the students of the nation,

We now stand at a critical crossroads of national history to choose between life and death, between freedom and slavery, between independence and subjugation, between peace and war, and between reunification and division.

Why are you wavering? What are you afraid of? For what are you waiting longer? Until when can we allow a handful of power-mad corrupt and privileged classes to manipulate the destiny of our nation at will? Now we have been driven to the point of no return.

Ah, cannot you hear? The crying of our brothers and sisters underground, the grudges of numerous fathers and brothers martyred, being iron-chained — their iron bugles calling upon us to a palace of freedom!

Look, we are again rising like undying birds, braving oppression.

Look, we are glad to uphold the proud banner of democracy, nation and reunification, passed from our elders.

Look, we are permanent explorers of truth, mad with liberty, true friends of the suffering masses, vigorous vanguards and masters of national history. All the exploited and oppressed masses, all the sorrowful and poor people, come! Join us.

Join us in advancing, shoulder to shoulder, determined to not retreat, toward the citadel of 15-year dictatorship, by forming a great flame.

Who are about to disrupt our just ranks struggling to restore human life and national dignity? What on earth stands in our way?

We want to rise and fight to die as free men rather than kneel and become slaves.

Let's go! Let's fight! Let's win!

Let's hold aloft the banner of democracy, nation and reunification!

Let's restore political independence, economic self-sustenance and national peace!

Let's uproot the corrupt, comprador and privileged classes!

Let's have the Yushin constitution and emergency measures revoked and overthrow the security dictatorship!

Let's have the Public Security Law withdrawn and civil rights restored!

Let's protest against the skyrocketing prices and reject the cutthroat taxes!

Let's defend the mass movements from suppression and secure the right to a decent life!

Let's disband the Students Patriotic Corps and win back campus freedom!

Let's rescue the incarcerated democratic figures and patriotic students!

14. **Memoir: How I was tortured and Raped by KCIA**

by Kwon Mal Ja

I live currently with my parents at 3-32-25, Bessho, Urawa City, Saitama Prefecture Japan. My name is Kwon Mal Ja (Ms) and my age is 26. I am enrolled in the Seoul College of Education as a sophomore.

Why Went to S. Korea

With my graduation a few months away, I am supposed to be studying hard in my homeland. Instead of going back there, however, I cannot but write such memoir with a mixed feeling which nobody may comprehend. While studying there last summer, I was suddenly taken to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency where I was deprived of my virginity. So humiliated, I found my hopes gone and my fate sealed. My irresistible wrath at the brutes is being roused to write this memoir.

Publication of such thing will ruin my life by scaring any prospective husband away. With all this awareness, I have made up my mind to reveal what the KCIA did with me for all to see.

My decision reached, agonizing months after that hateful summer, has been prompted by my great anger and remorse at the reported mass arrests of Korean students from Japan made by the KCIA on groundless charges. They included close friends of mine.

I was born into a poor family in Urawa in November, 1949. My parents loved me as the apple of their eyes. I got a systematic education at Japanese schools from primary school to university. Further studies took me to my homeland.

My purpose there was to know better my motherland and cultivate my consciousness as a member of the Korean nation. Because of my background as a second-generation Korean born abroad, I had little knowledge of Korean and was ignorant of what was going on at home.

In preparation for my ultimate trip home, I taught for two years at the Tokyo Korean School, whose principal gave me necessary advice. Finally, I was admitted to the Seoul College of Education.

In March, 1974, I arrived at Pusan by ship, with new hopes. During one year and half since, I diligently trained for an educational career and enjoyed college life. I made many friends and visited their houses to be used to Korean customs and become a good Korean.

Tortured

This happy life came to an abrupt end when I was walked to the KCIA.

Around half past eleven, August 5, a strange man turned up all of a sudden, when I was quietly reading a book after my roommate went to school, and told me to accompany him to the KCIA, showing an ID card of the KCIA. Over 40 in age, he wore grim glasses and behaved himself high-handedly. A car was parked outdoors with a husky boy in 20s standing by. I was whisked away into a commonplace two-story house near the Namsan KCIA Headquarters and led into a chamber like a living room. I was in fear of what awaited me there. After lunch, several men began to interrogate me, saying, "You know why you are here, don't you?" My answer was "No, sir." The same question and answer followed for a while. They thundered out threats, "You must be aware of where you are. Remember you are at our mercy! Tell truth!" They told me to give names of those now studying in south Korea of my friends whom I had kept company with in Japan. I mentioned some. Then I was ordered to depose that I had been engaged in political activities together with them. As a matter of fact, there was none of that sort to be referred to. They were utterly dissatisfied with my affidavit and screamed, "You bitch are not sincere. You insolent!" With this they slapped me on the face when I was off guard. I was shaken for a moment. They threatened to use all possible tortures to wrench a confession, even reminding me of the underground rack. The professional torturers there, they said, would not return me alive. Reciting a poem written by an unknown victim as his will, they linkened him to me.

I was frightened out of my wits. Now my memory is not sure of what and how I raved during ten days of torture.

Their persistent questions were on my trips in Japan and south Korea, college club activities, the purpose of study in Seoul, the job at the Tokyo Korean School and my acquaintances in two countries. I was forced to rewrite my statement again and again in such way as to please them. Day and night, torture continued without letup, turning me into a sort of sleep-walker.

Exhausted, I was almost falling into sleep, when I happened to hear the KCIA men talking among themselves, "The girl should be used as a tool but should be killed if she proves too recalcitrant." Death was anticipated any moment; tears welled up and dread gripped me; my thought flew back to my parents, my brothers and my friends.

In desperation I admitted what I did not know and what was untrue as dictated by them, who said that it was wiser for me to be obedient. They talked filth, and told me to drink alcohol at night while interrogating me.

Raped

One night I felt a male hand creeping over my body and woke up. The man quietly left the room. On the evening of August 14, one day before my release, as far as I remember, perhaps around mid-night, a man broke into my room and attacked me. My frantic resistance aborted his attempt. Men whispering to each other were heard from a next-door room.

One the following day when I was set free, a KCIA man came to my apartment to demand that I surrender my chastity to them, threatening to arrest me again and withhold my passport. He was mad beast in assailing me. I was deflowered and underwent intolerable humiliation. I was left behind unconscious and delirious.

On August 15, prior to my release, I was compelled to sign a secrecy declaration that I shall never mention to anybody else my detention,

interrogation and tortures at the KCIA office and otherwise I shall be held again and punished severely. I had to pledge to become an active member of the Patriotic Student Corps and work for the Yushin system.

On August 18, even after the release, I was called to the Astolia Hotel and on August 21 to the Prince Hotel by the same KCIA beast, where I was raped again and questioned on the departure for Japan. On August 21, a high-ranking KCIA official phoned me, saying "We must see you again when you are back in Seoul and discuss what we shall do in future. We guarantee all your college life and employment after graduation." He was shameless enough to say so.

I went to Seoul, my heart leaping with new hopes, but I returned to Japan dejected and miserable.

After my return, I sent a postcard to the KCIA, informing that I was safely back in Japan. I acted on the instructions of the brutes.

To my great relief, I was back at home, but was infuriated to think of what had happened. I was unable to tell my parents and brothers of my misfortune, and with each passing day, my resentment at the Park Chung Hee regime and the KCIA continued to grow. No longer was I in a mood to return to Seoul to continue studies. I was whiling away time without any particular future plan in mind. Late in September I received a letter from the KCIA men, asking for my speedy flight to Seoul and saying that the colleagues in Japan would help me in some way. Together with fresh anger, a terror was struck into me of being victimized by the KCIA in this country—Japan, I felt, was not a safe place. I confided my experience in Seoul to an intimate of mine and sought for her counsel, giving up continuing my college life there, which meant my becoming a stooge of the KCIA, while subjected to the same humiliation. My keen realization was that I would not be able to marry. My friend encouraged me, saying, "Never despair!" An educational career ought to be abandoned and a new course of life charted—I must face up to this hard fact of life.

Then came a KCIA announcement of the so-called "spying case of

students from Japan.” I was stunned and shocked at the list of the arrested which comprised names given by me during my investigation at the KCIA building. A guilty conscience took over me that I was responsible for their arrest; a thought of them now under arrest convinced me that what befell me deeply involved a lot of people. Then it crossed into my mind that I had been exploited by the KCIA in implicating many people in a groundless crime.

Curses “KCIA”

Judging from my experience, I dare swear that the “campus spying case” is a complete frame-up. The Park Chung Hee regime and the KCIA spoiled my life as a woman and tortured a false confession from me, which is the only evidence in framing up the “campus spying case.” The Park regime is a classic example of vice and crime. While in Seoul, I heard many cases of student spyings in which co-eds from Japan were violated and tortured at the KCIA hands. This is now exemplified by my experience. There is no reason whatsoever to leave immune the Park dictatorial regime committing such brutal outrage against us co-eds studying in our homeland far away from our parents. All the parents share anxiety about their children studying in the homeland. It is easy to imagine what shock my bombshell statement will bring to my parents. I hate the Park Chung Hee regime. I curse the brutes of the KCIA. I have started to feel indignation as a student from Japan, reaching my own conclusion. After all, I was illegally detained by the KCIA; firstly, tortured to make false confessions to be used for cooking up the case of student spies from Japan; secondly, deprived of female virginity under the irresistible circumstances of investigation; and thirdly, compelled to become a cat’s-paw of the KCIA.

This recognition has come as an eye-opener. My case eloquently bespeaks that that my desire for national education will neither come true nor will many other students from Japan and their classmates there be spared the same mishap so long as the Park regime with the vicious KCIA as its mainstay remains intact.

What motivates the publication of this memoir is my strong concern

to provide the students in the homeland with a safe environment for study and to restore democracy to south Korea, looking forward to the earliest overthrow of the Park regime.

I am well aware of the extent of the disadvantage it will spell for me to disclose what can be kept secret concerning my disgrace. In future, more likely I will be shadowed by KCIA killers active in Japan. I have written this in the hope of preventing the young generation of south Korea from being humiliated and having our homeland reunified at the earliest possible date.

15. Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation

This declaration was read out by Kim Dae Jung and 11 others at the prayer meeting at the Myongdong Cathedral in downtown Seoul on March 1, 1976 to mark the 57th anniversary of the March 1, 1919 Popular Uprising.

On this day, March 1, we hear the clear echoes of the events of March 1, 1919, 57 years ago, when the battle cry of this people resounded throughout the world, crying out for independence. We would be overwhelmed by a sense of guilt towards those before us who shed their blood to save the nation if, in the present situation, we did not concentrate our determination by issuing this "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" to our country and to the world.

Although the division of our country shattered the exultation felt at our liberation on August 15, 1945, and brought us successive ordeals, the people never lost their hope. Arising out of the ruins of the Korean War, the heroic April 19 students, who toppled the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, restored the people's belief in liberal democracy.

But this only lasted a moment. Once again our people were bound by the iron chains of a dictatorial government, and there was a "separation of powers" only in appearance. Under the pretext of national security, the freedoms of belief and conscience withered day by day, and the freedoms of expression and academic independence were choked to death. The R.O.K. — Japan Treaty, concluded under the present regime, resulted in this country's economy becoming entirely controlled by Japan, with all industries and the labor force becoming the victims of Japan's economic invasion.

The Republic of Korea has come to be seen by the international community as an orphan, and what was once described by the United Nations as the only legitimate government on the Korean peninsula has

now been reduced to a mere myth. Turning its back on the emergence of the Third World as a new strength in world history – a decisive wedge between the East and West camps – the R.O.K. government has depended entirely on the Western world, and has now even been abandoned by the Western world.

The present regime must take the responsibility for having dragged the country to this point. It should lament deeply having lost the democratic nations' trust for having oppressed the domestic democratic opposition forces, and it should reproach itself for the fact that before it laid the blame for changes in the U.N. on the emergence of the Third World, it did not more accurately discern the current of world history.

In response to our earnest wishes for "National Unification," this should be a time to take steps to encourage and rally democratic forces at home and abroad, but instead, at the hands of a one-man dictatorship, human rights are being trampled and we are being deprived of our freedom.

In this way, our people are losing their sense of purpose and direction, and their belief in democracy, and the country is moving step by step towards total collapse. We cannot remain indifferent to this situation. We must go beyond the political interests and strategies of either party to chart the course this country must take to avert disaster, and with this conviction we issue this Declaration.

1. THIS COUNTRY MUST STAND ON A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is the national policy of the Republic of Korea. Therefore, the legitimacy of the Republic of Korea is in its democracy. It follows that democracy should not be weakened under any pretext. At this moment, in a time of intense competition with the communist "regime" in the north, the kind of strength which we must muster is the power of democracy. Although a strong national defense and economic power need to be nurtured as well, when these are not backed by a democratic capacity, they are no more than a castle built on sand.

What then is democracy? We do not mean by this specific systems being practiced in foreign countries. Rather, we point to a faith in a

system, formed in compliance with the will of the members of society, based on the best original ideas but continuously being improved, which takes into account the rights, interests, and happiness of all of its members.

Therefore, democracy ought to proceed not as much “for the people” as “from the people.” The judgement about what is good for the country and the people must itself come from the people. Democracy is not achieved simply by undertaking what one believes is for the people without listening to their judgement. To think that this is all that democracy requires is to mistake commands and obedience for democracy. This can never be “for the people”. The people’s desire is not obedience, but full responsible participation. The people’s fundamental right to oversee and to criticize the government must never be abandoned. For this would be to abandon democracy itself.

What, then, is the way to realize government “from the people”? The freedom of the people to express themselves, without either physical or spiritual intimidation, must be guaranteed.

Therefore, we demand the immediate abolition of the emergency measures which suppress the people’s freedom, and the release of the democratic citizens and students who have been imprisoned for demanding democracy. So that the people’s will can be freely expressed, we demand that the freedoms of speech, assembly, and press be returned to the people.

Next, we insist on the recovery of parliamentary politics, which has been deprived of any substance by the Yushin Constitution. The freely expressed democratic will of the people must be reflected in the legislative decisions of the National Assembly, and the government must reflect these in its administration. A regime which prevents this, while saying it is “for the people” has in fact no intention to be “for the people.”

Thirdly, we demand the right of an independent judiciary. Without an independent judiciary the people will have no protection from the tyranny of the powerful. Therefore, an administration which treats the judiciary as no more than its servant reveals that from the beginning it

has had no intention of being “for the people.”

2. THE DESIGN AND STRUCTURE OF OUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS MUST BE FUNDAMENTALLY RE-EXAMINED

We fully understand that economic development is important for nurturing national strength. But this does not mean that economic strength is in itself the strength of a nation. Nevertheless, the present regime holds the narrow perception that economic strength equals national strength, and it is sacrificing everything for the sake of singleminded concentration on economic development.

But what are the real results? In the years 1974–75, an alarming trade deficit amounting to four billion dollars has been incurred through the export industry, which is based on exploitation of the people's economy. There is little possibility that this large a deficit will be narrowed in the near future. As of the end of 1975, our country's foreign debt reached a total of 5,780 million dollars. On whose shoulders will the load of this incredible debt be laid — at a time when companies based on loans are becoming insolvent and going bankrupt? The present structure of our nation's economy, based on plans to sell over our workers and farmers to be exploited by lending agencies and foreign capital, with even the rights to organize labor unions and to strike taken away from the workers, has from the beginning not been in the interests of our country's people.

It was a mistake not to first foster the strength of the domestic economy, and upon that base to encourage export industry. To expect to construct enormous modern industries on the charred remains of an agricultural economy was a delusion. The reliance of the economic system solely on foreign loans from the beginning was a large part of the cause of corruption.

If things continue as they are, it is only a matter of time before this country's economy collapses. The present regime has long since lost the capacity to save the nation from an economic break-down. The reason for this is that irrationality and corruption of the economy have originated in the very heart of the power structure itself.

Because the situation has reached this point, there is no other way open than for the Park regime to take the responsibility and to step down. It is our judgement that a change of administration is necessary, in order to prevent an economic collapse that would undermine the world community's confidence, and so that we can request a postponement on the repayment of loans to loaning countries and international banks.

If this regime does not have the suitable humble courage to do so, then we urge it to thoroughly re-examine the country's economic structure, beginning at its very heart. Stop concealing the real situation and making justifications for it, and instead acknowledge the situation honestly. Reject the bloated budget that has been established without regard for the people's tax-paying ability. Resolutely carry out a thorough redistribution of wealth, and build up the people's purchasing power.

If this is done, the absurd situation of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer — a breeding ground for communism — could be corrected; the people's confidence in liberal democracy would be restored; and the initiative for "National Unification" could be grasped vis-a-vis the communist regime in the north.

3. "NATIONAL UNIFICATION" — OUR COMPATRIOTS' SUPREME TASK TODAY

The tragic division of our land for thirty years since liberation has given an excuse for dictatorship in both north and south, and has caused the withering of the spiritual and material resources which could have been mobilized for national prosperity, the people's happiness, and creative development.

For the north and south to have a combined standing army strength of over a million men, and to maintain these forces with modern weapons, is impossible for the productive capacity and economies of the Korean peninsula without foreign military aid. Furthermore, what we cannot bear to see is a situation in which the wisdom and originality of compatriots is destructively wasted, instead of being mobilized for cultural creation.

Accordingly, “National Unification” is today the supreme task which must be carried by all the Korean people. The barrier dividing north and south must be brought down by the combined strength and wisdom of all 50-million Koreans. If any individual or group uses or obstructs “National Unification” for its own strategic purpose, it will be impossible to escape the strict judgement of history.

Depending on the attitudes of politicians, north or south, the opportunity for “National Unification” can either be brought closer or be delayed. Those who truly believe in the nation and our common brotherhood, clearly perceiving the changing international situation, and seizing the chance when it comes, ought to have the wisdom and courage to deal with it resolutely. This is precisely what we must pursue as our own independent foreign policy.

At this time there is a final line which must be defended. The Magna Carta of democracy is that a unified country, and the best system and policies for the people, must “come from among the people.” Are we, in predicting that approaching day, fostering a democratic capability? Or are we strangling it? The way to defeat communism, and the shortcut to “National Unification,” is sure to strengthen our democratic capability.

This is the task which must involve all 50-million of our people in an aggressive struggle for the creation of a new history.

This is the rekindling of the same Asian signal fire as the March 1st movement and the April 19 Revolution.

This is what can revive our people who have suffered in the confrontation between democracy and communism, and show to all the world the true shape of democracy.

This is the way by which our reunified people, as a peaceful nation in which justice is realized and human rights are guaranteed, may take our rightful place in international society.

Long live Democracy!

March 1, 1976

Hahm Sok Hun
Chung Il Hyung
Kim Kwan Suk
Yun Ban Woong
Ahn Byoung Moo
Suh Nam Dong
Lee Oo Jung

Yun Po Sun
Kim Dae Jung
Eun Myoung Gi
Lee Moon Young
Moon Dong Hwan

16. South Korea in Reality

by George Ogle
Emory University (USA)
March 15, 1976

American Methodist missionary George Ogle, who had been in south Korea for 15 years when he was deported by the Park regime. He wrote a postscript to "Letters From South Korea" published by "Iwanami Shoten", Tokyo.
Follow the excerpts of the postscript:

Korea today is engulfed in tragic and needless suffering. Park Chung Hee has turned the country into a garrison state where he and his military clique give all orders and his KCIA acts as a gestapo to terrorize the people. Why? Why has such evil fallen upon Korea? Why are the people again forced to suffer so? Certainly their cup of suffering has overflowed in the twentieth century.

Park says that he must be a dictator and must turn loose the KCIA on the people for their own good. The nation, he claims, is about to be overrun by the communists and even if there were no communists it would still be necessary because Korea has got to overcome its poverty. Suffering, hardship, and sacrifice of human rights are required if the nation is to develop and defend itself.

Park well knows the Korean people's hate of communism and their commitment to economic development, and so he plays on these two things in an attempt to coerce their support. Park also knows that the U.S. State Department is blindly committed to anything called anticommunism, and he is well aware that American firms in Korea are willing to pay almost any price to maintain their present favorable position. His arguments that only his military approach assures national security and economic development find ready acceptance among the Americans.

Thus Park uses two falsehoods to deceive his people and win support from the U.S.A. The real reason that Park has inflicted oppression on the Korean people is that neither he nor his small military clique could bear to give up their lucrative jobs. Up to the autumn of 1972 Korea had a democratic constitution. Repeatedly Park had promised the people he would leave office, as the constitution required, after two terms. He lied. Instead he called in the military and destroyed the democratic constitution. The reasons are simple. First, as a military man he could not give up authority; and second, his own greed would not allow him to turn over to someone else the lucrative job as head of state. Indeed, his military clique would in no way have allowed him to cut them off from the huge profits they were enjoying. It is that simple. Koreans must suffer the agonies of a ruthless dictator in order to satisfy the greed of a few military generals.

Park's military dictatorship is also a tragedy for the U.S.A. Over thirty thousand American soldiers died in Korea, and many tens of thousands more were wounded and maimed. American money to the tune of fifteen billion dollars has been pumped into this small country no larger than the state of Indiana. Ostensibly this investment of blood and money was to help Korea establish itself as a free democratic society.

In 1972 Park Chung Hee obliterated the entire democratic system. The people were deprived of the right to select their own leaders. Opposition politics were forbidden. The KCIA took over the newspapers and broadcasting network; it closed down universities, eliminated labor unions, and sent spies into the churches. Park's enemies were arrested, tortured, and murdered.

The United States did nothing, made no reaction. Without any apparent agony of soul the U.S. government switched its support. Instead of the ideals of democracy and the advantages of a free society, American spokesmen began to trumpet Park's call for greater national security and defense against the communists. Ford visited Korea. Kissinger visited Korea, Schlesinger visited Korea. Congressmen and senators visited Korea. Silence!—except for increased calls for security. Without a whimper the men in Washington turned away from the goals and values originally set for American involvement in Korea. Justice, human rights, freedom from

fear of storm troops, and democracy were all abandoned in the name of national security.

Now American government officials must resort to lies and chicanery to rationalize the new American stand. State Department officials take refuge in the false cliches that "Koreans don't understand democracy" and "Koreans like dictatorship; that is their way." This allows the American leaders to say that the catastrophic events of 1972-76 have been caused by a weakness of Korean character. The failure of democracy is a fault of the Korean people and has nothing to do with U.S. responsibility.

The use of such falsehoods to justify the American position is indicative of the deception practiced in Washington. Koreans have certainly suffered much for what they call democracy, and certainly they are better educated and better prepared for it than our ancestors were when they started off on the road toward democracy. Park Chung Hee uses American guns and tanks against the Koreans to prevent them from going on with their democracy, and the U.S. refuses to admit this. Instead, the government of the best-known democracy in the whole world shrugs its shoulders and says it does not matter. "Koreans don't want democracy," it is explained.

American government spokesmen like to play another game. "The United States does not interfere in the affairs of another country," is repeated over and over again, despite the obvious fact that there is not a sector of Korean society in which the United States is not directly involved. Does sending seven billion dollars worth of military equipment into a country the size of Indiana signify noninterference?

Prior to President Ford's visit to Korea in November 1974 some of us missionaries called on the American Ambassador to Korea, Richard L. Sneider, to express some of our concerns about human rights in Korea. He lectured us on how the U.S.A. never interferes in another nation's internal affairs but at the same time volunteered the information that America had used about six million dollars in an attempt to keep Salvador Allende from coming to power in Chile. The U.S. has been, and is, involved in almost every facet of Korean society. American money, personnel, labor unions, ideas, technology, education, and guns are found at every level of Korean

life, and yet the government says we do not interfere. Indira Gandhi has not come close to violating human rights and democracy like Park, yet the U.S. government publicly chastises her and praises Park. Why?

Ostensibly the reason America backs the Park regime is to maintain a defense against the communist North. But is a tyrannical dictatorship a necessary condition for national security against the North? Obviously not. South Korea had defended itself against the North for twenty years without a military dictatorship.

What, then, are the real reasons for America's uncritical support of Park? There seem to be two. First, the U.S. government appears to be under the sway of a simplistic mentality that equates military might and national security. Other factors get ignored or subordinated. Park's simple-minded psychology of identifying national security with the militarization of society has its counterpart apparently in the psychology of those Americans who head the government. Immediate pragmatic gain for the U.S. economy and military is the all-important goal. All else, including honesty and human decency, is manipulated to make that goal palatable.

The second reason America is adamant in its defense of Park is that the large American business presence in Korea appears to demand such a policy. The major presence is probably that of Gulf Oil. This one company gave three million dollars to Park Chung Hee just a few months before the last presidential elections in Korea (1971). Park, with Gulf's money, and probably some from other companies as well, managed to win the 1971 election by only a very small margin. Without that money Korean democracy might have been preserved. The *New Yorker* magazine summed up the American attitude toward Korea in these words: "The plain fact is that for some years now the American government has regarded ruthless, dictatorial regimes as safe havens for American interests."

But what else could the U.S. have done? It seems like America is "damned if it does and damned if it doesn't." What are the alternatives?

I do not believe that the Koreans are asking the U.S. to come in and forcefully set things straight. That is not the responsibility of America. But it is the responsibility of U.S. policymakers to show a little moral courage.

Mothers and wives of men falsely imprisoned and tortured by the KCIA asked merely that President Gerald Ford not come to Korea. Neither Ford nor his advisors had the moral sensitivity or courage to respond. Ford came to Korea and promised untiring support for Korea's national security—just as Park predicted he would. The Korean people are not pleading with the U.S. to save them. They can handle that. But they are asking America to be honest about its own values. Gulf Oil did not have to help destroy democracy. America's military does not have to help train the KCIA. American labor unions do not have to subsidize KCIA-dominated union leaders in Korea. Ford and Kissinger are not required to recharge Park's power every so often with statements of support. Koreans want to establish democracy in their land. Why should they have to struggle against U.S. power in addition to Park's?

The burden of Park's military rule is, of course, borne by the people of Korea. It is they who have to pay the price of American collusion with Park. It is they who have to live with the KCIA on their backs. According to the laws of Korea, workers in factories are allowed to organize unions, but when they attempt to do so, the KCIA subjects the leaders to threats and beatings. When Kim Mal Young, Korea's most courageous spokesman for the rights of labor, protested in 1974 against KCIA manipulation of the National Labor Convention, government agents connived and threatened until Kim's followers were forced to withdraw their support from him. Kim was not imprisoned, but he was isolated. Now he and the entire labor movement are under constant surveillance by KCIA agents. Life in a poor nation like Korea is tough in any case, but to have the daily intimidation of secret police on your back robs life of any joy it might have.

The greatest agonies have been suffered by the eight men whom Park hanged on trumped-up charges. They are dead, so no one will ever know of the physical and spiritual sufferings they underwent. Perhaps nothing is quite so humiliating as to be completely at the mercy of evil men who carry out sadistic rituals of interrogation and torture. For one full year Woo Hong Sun, Ha Jae Wan, To Rye Jong, Su Do Won, Lee Su Byung, Yu Chin Kon, Song Sang Jin, and Kim Yong Won were completely in the power of such men. These eight victims were used and then killed to help Park perform a political charade. Not content with hanging the men, the KCIA has continued to harass their wives and families. Wives have been

subjected to long interrogations and beatings. Even the lives of their children have been threatened. How can you measure the suffering of these people? Theirs is the most extreme suffering, yet their sobs of pain and agony reflect the soul of a whole nation undergoing senseless oppression.

Mrs. Woo Hong Sun loved her husband dearly. They had fallen in love when he was a young officer in the army. He had been wounded in action. Theirs was a deep, personal love. After twenty years of marriage that love was greater than when they first met. Woo Hong Sun was never a success in the world. He was barely able to earn enough as a clerk in a small company to keep his family together. But at night he and his wife would join hands and walk to the top of South Mountain to share each other's thoughts and experiences of the day.

Woo Hong Sun was taken away by the KCIA early one morning in April of 1974. For one year he was beaten and tortured and finally hanged, never having been able to defend himself against his accusers. Mrs. Woo, unlike some of the other wives, was allowed to view the broken body of her husband. She was allowed to bury him. She wept with such intensity of body and soul that she herself came near to death. Deep in the valley of death she wrote the following poem.

Where should I go,
where should I go
from now on, to meet you again?
Turning your head again and again
you'd leave our home in the morning and,
and always come back in the evening,
always you came back to me.
Even that short separation was long
and too long for me.
I counted the hours until you came back to me.
Where should I go,
where should I go
from now on, to meet you again?
Last spring, all of a sudden
you were taken away
without any reason.

After the spring, summer came
and autumn passed without
any sign of your return.
All through the long winter
I waited for spring to come
for, if spring came, I could see you
and I kept dreaming of that joyous day.
Even that dream I'm deprived of now,
I am refused even to feel the pain
that I had gone through
by waiting for you.
You were all that I lived for,
the spring where my strength to live came from.
Beloved one!
I would rather,
I would rather lie next to you
holding your pale tortured hands,
holding them tightly, tightly
and with a smile.
I would rather lie next to you
peacefully,
peacefully and quietly.

—Kwan Soon Hi, wife of Woo Hong Sun
[Translated from the Japanese monthly
magazine *Sekai*, July 1975]

Where does the needless, senseless, stupid suffering stop? No one knows, for Park is not ready to relinquish power and the U.S. government gives no appearance of wanting to be honest. So the senseless tragedy goes on. Word from inside Korea tells us that once again over one hundred students have disappeared and are assumed to be in the torture chambers of the KCIA. Universities have been militarized. Professors and university presidents who object are dismissed or worse. Churches continue to be monitored, with some prayer meetings and worship services being under constant harassment. The secret police are everywhere. One's words must be carefully measured at all times.

But yet, with all that, Park cannot win. He can step on the necks of the people, as the Japanese once did, but the people are filled with the

spirit of *Samil Chul*. Back on March 1, 1919, Koreans all over the nation rose up in nonviolent protest against their military masters, the Japanese. That spirit has been the herald of hope in Korea ever since. It is called “the spirit of March 1st,” or *Samil Chul*.

On March 1, 1976, Korean Christians assembled in their churches to renew their commitment to *Samil Chul*. At the Myongdong (Catholic) Cathedral in Seoul a “Declaration for Democratic National Salvation” was proclaimed by twelve prominent Catholic and Protestant spokesmen, including former ROK President Yun Po Sun, former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, National Assemblyman Chung II Hyung, Quaker leader Ham Suk Hon, Korean National Council of Churches General Secretary Kim Kwan Suk, Rev. Moon Dong Hwan, former dean of Hankuk Theological Seminary, and others. The declaration was read that day by Ms. Lee Oo Jung, president of Korean Church Women United. She was arrested immediately after the service. It was her fourth trip to KCIA headquarters. She and the Christian women of Korea are determined not to bow down to the KCIA.

The following day six others were arrested, including Fr. Chang Dok Pil, the priest who officiated at the March 1st service. By March 3 all signers of the declaration had been arrested except Kim Dae Jung, Yun Po Sun, and Chung II Hyung. On March 8, however, Kim Dae Jung was arrested, Chung II Hyung was taken in for interrogation, and Yun Po Sun was questioned at his home (their wives were also arrested in this round-up). By March 8 confirmed arrests reached twenty-seven, though several have since been released, including KNCC General Secretary Kim Kwan Suk. But on March 10 the ROK government announced formal charges of “conspiracy to overthrow the government” against twenty persons, naming Kim Dae Jung, Rev. Moon Ik Hwan (brother of Rev. Moon Dong Hwan), and Catholic priest Fr. Hahm Se Ung as “leaders of the conspiracy.”

These Christians made their public declaration knowing full well that it could mean long years in prison, or it could mean they would face spurious charges of a “communist plot” against Park. Nevertheless they were ready to pay the price. That is the *Samil Chul* spirit. All the suffering Park can inflict upon them will not extinguish it, for that spirit is the heart of Korea itself.

17. Sin-Dong-A Magazine: Subhuman Level Wages in S. Korea

The deplorable plight of the south Korean workers is graphically indicated by their low wages. Their average wage is less than a tenth of that in the U.S., a fourth to a fifth of that in Japan, France and Italy and the lowest in the Asian countries.

Follows an except of an article of the May, 1976 "Sin-Dong-A," a prestigious monthly magazine, written by Pak Yong Sang, lecturer at the law and government college of Rihwa Women's University.

Industrialization and Low Wages

Sharp price rises caused by changes in the international natural resources market in the past two years have brought forward the problem of low wages in our country as a serious social problem.

As the need to stabilize the living of fixed income earners, in particular, low wage earners, has become a major social problem as a result of the acceleration of inflation imported from abroad after the oil crisis, the government is required to take steps to get rid of low wages and take such measures as wage raises and adjustments. However, if we view things more fundamentally, we will find that the present low-wage problem originates in the industrialization of our country as part of its economic development, which preceded the sharp price rises of natural resources.

In the 1960's, the number of wage labourers rapidly increased as a result of the high economic growth of the country, centered on industrialization, and so the wage problem directly related to the living of working people became an important problem.

The difficulty in the solution of low wages, a serious social problem, can be attributed to the oversupply of labour in our country. People must get a job anyhow, even if no reasonable wage can be guaranteed in the present situation in which the pressure of oversupply is strong on the market. Another reason is that the government and enterprises are not able to cope with this problem. The government considers that to increase job opportunities by the accumulation of capital and high economic growth is more urgent than to realize reasonable wages, in the light of the oversupply of labour in our country, a developing country. As low wages are our country's only resort in winning in competition in foreign markets, elimination of low wages will deal a telling blow at export vital to our country's economic growth.

Enterprises, confronting working people in the distribution of profits, admit, it is true, that an extreme low wage is undesirable. But, they assume a conservative attitude toward raising wage levels, fearing increased difficulties in management and bankruptcy.

However, if economic development and industrialization are ultimately aimed at improving the living and welfare of the majority of people, the government cannot afford to continue the policy of export expansion and high economic growth through low wages. It is high time that the government raised the extremely low wages which make it difficult for the people to stabilize their living and to reproduce and maintain labour force, and took positive measure to raise working people's income.

Industry-by-Industry Breakdown of Low Wages

As we have already seen, the focal point of our country's wage problem is the low wage level and extreme wage differentials. The latest data tell us that the average wage of employees in the manufacturing industries of our country was less than a tenth of that in the United States, West Germany and Canada and a fifth to an eighth of that in England, Italy, France and Japan in 1974.

Wage differences between our country and developed countries were a little reduced last year as a result of relatively high wage raises

carried out last year. But the average wage in our country is still a tenth of that in the United States and a fourth to a fifth of that in Japan, France and Italy. Even if compared with developing countries in Asia, whose stage of economic development is similar to that of our country, our country's wage level is about half of that in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan in 1973.

Wage levels will be more clearly understood when compared with living cost. The average monthly wage of employees in the manufacturing industries of south Korea was 37,511 *won* (one dollar is approximately 484 *won*) as of August, 1975, and the average monthly living cost of working people in urban areas was 68,550 *won* from July to September of the same year. In short, wages are 54.7 percent of the living costs.

In cities, 1.34 persons per household are working. Even if this is taken into account, the monthly average income of employees in the manufacturing industries is 18,000 *won* less than the living costs, or the level of living is sub-standard.

The more fundamental problem is the fact that the majority of working people endure wages far less than the average wage because of extreme wage differentials between jobs, industries and enterprise scales. According to data in 1975 issued by the earned income tax department of the Office of National Tax Administration, the income of 87.4 percent of all the working people didn't reach the living cost of the working people in cities in the first quarter of the same year.

Further, 81.9 percent of those with only untaxable income, had an average monthly income of less than 30,000 *won*.

If you examine wage differentials in the manufacturing industries according to statistics released by the Office of Labour Affairs in August 1975, you will see the following facts:

First of all, industry-wise, the lowest wage of 25,063 *won* is paid by the clothing industry and the highest 96,532 *won* by oil refinery industry. The latter is 3.8 times the former. Occupation-wise, production workers get an average wage of 32,140 *won* and clerical workers 65,018

won. The latter wage is 2.6 times the former.

The average monthly wage of male employees in the manufacturing industries is 49,776 *won* and that of female employees 24,053 *won*. That is more than two times females' wages. If this income is divided by the average number of family members in urban areas, average personal spending is 12,780 *won*.

Furthermore, if we take additional expenses such as commuter expense into account, low wage workers cannot adequately support their families. The wages in the mining industry show more clearly that the monthly wage of low wage workers cannot satisfy their basic needs as workers. It can be said that male employees in the mining industry are mostly household heads. In the non-metal or mining industry, the average wage of male workers is 34,749 *won*, in spite of 208.4 working hours per month.

If we study wage levels in terms of working hours, 8 hour wages will be much lower, as production workers in the manufacturing industries work 10.1 hours a day. In short, workers in our country, especially low wage workers get wages too low to meet the living cost, in spite of overtime work.

Trend in Wages and Distribution of Income

The nominal wages of workers in the manufacturing industries in our country during the period from 1965 to 1975 indicated a high annual growth rate of 23.5 per cent thanks to increased employment which follow the high rate economic development and also to the shortage of skilled persons in certain industrial sectors.

But because of an annual 12.2 per cent raise in the consumer prices during the same period, the growth rate of real income was no more than 10 per cent and did not reach the annual 13.8 per cent growth rate of productivity.

Theoretically, in order to maintain the rate of earned income in national income, or in order to maintain labor's relative share on a fixed level, the increase in nominal wages corresponding to the growth rate of

labor productivity must be attained so long as the scale of employment does not fluctuate.

As for the rate of reward of distribution to employees in the national income of our country, it increased steadily every year — from 30.9 per cent in 1965 to 39 per cent in 1971. This reflects the fact of rapidly increased employment as well as of a relatively high increase in real income.

However, the rate of distribution to employees began to decrease in 1972 and slipped to 36.8 per cent in 1974, due to the rapidly slowed down growth rate of nominal wages under the impact of the depression and sharp fluctuations in the prices of international resources.

On the other hand, the rate of personnel costs to the value-added production in the manufacturing industries also indicates an upward tendency from 1965 to 1971, although there were minor fluctuations. But it decreased again from 1972.

The reduced rate of remunerations to employees in the calculation of national income or the labor's lowered relative share in the distribution of the added value production of enterprises implies that earned income, relatively speaking, decreases compared with real income or unearned income.

Especially, even if labor's relative share is maintained on a fixed level, the relative wage standard cannot but decrease in case the scale of employment enlarges.

In our country, the number of non-farmer wage workers among the employees continued rising even during the period when labor's relative share indicated a declining tendency from 1972, let alone during the period when it increased. This means the relative wage level is declining more.

That the workers of our country have been suffering from low wages particularly since the early 1970's is clear from the fact that the rate of food expenses in the family budget or Engel's coefficient increased from 40.6 per cent in 1970 to 45.2 per cent in 1975.

That labor's relative share in the distribution of profits in our country is relatively, not to mention absolutely, low, can be realized through an international comparison. Thus, the rate of remunerations to employees to national income in advanced countries such as the U.S., England and West Germany increased from 60–73 per cent in 1960 to 67–80 per cent in 1970. In Japan, it also rose from 50 per cent to 54 per cent during the same period.

The labor's low relative share in the distribution of profits can cause a no less serious social problem than the problem of absolutely low wage levels in that the people in the lower income brackets are resented over the high consumption standard of some high income class people, resulting in causing social discord.

Low Wages and National Economy

Viewed from a national economic standpoint, the problem of over-production caused by the relative reduction of effective demand must be cited as an effect of low wages.

It is claimed that especially in a country like ours where capital accumulation is weak, the reduction of internal reserves caused by wage increases encroaches upon investment funds and hinders economic development.

But wage income functions not merely as a consumption department, but it is a basis for realizing reproduction on an enlarged scale by creating effective demand domestically.

It goes without saying that increased capital spending, which is not supported by effective demand, sooner or later, gives rise to surplus production facilities and wasteful use of resources.

In fact, we experienced in the reconstruction period right after the Korean War, the situation of surplus equipment which was brought about by the expansion of equipment in the flour-milling and sugar refining industries regardless of effective demand. This situation still continues today.

As a solution of the problem of short domestic demand, export to foreign markets is stressed. But this is not desirable because it makes the national economy more dependent on foreign countries.

It was basically in order to secure revenue sources for equipment investment and foreign capital necessary for purchasing raw materials that the country had to pursue an export-oriented growth policy in the course of economic development during that period. On the other hand, the shortage of domestic demand was also a big factor.

This export-oriented growth policy is regarded as a success in the light of its past achievements. But if considered from a longer-term and more basic viewpoint, it contains in itself the problem that not only the national economy is affected by changes in conditions given in foreign markets, but that achievements of economic development are lost to foreign countries as trading conditions aggravate.

The priority to export principle which was promoted during that time has made the national economy dependent on export 31.1 per cent in 1975 — 6.1 per cent in 1962 — and its dependence on foreign trade, imports included, rose from 23.1 per cent in 1962 and to 75.3 per cent in 1975.

The development formula of this kind makes our country's rate of dependence on trade inevitably reach 100 per cent in the 1980's by making the import of raw materials and equipment and export of processed goods a fixed circulation structure of the national economy.

In order to reduce this rate of dependence on foreign countries and to realize economic independence, the domestic markets must be expanded through elimination of low wages at home as well as through construction of an integrated industrial structure.

Foreign trade should originally be for the purpose of complementing domestic balance. Only when domestic markets are expanded, export itself as well as the national economy can achieve a stable and continuous expansion.

The policy of low grain prices which has been followed under the

pretext of stabilizing the people's living standard and that of promoting import of foreign surplus farm products for the purpose have reduced domestic agricultural production relatively, and the rate of dependence on foreign countries in the supply of food stuff has risen.

A similar phenomenon is seen in the energy industries at home, too.

The stagnation of industries supplying basic necessities, especially the primary industries, for which the maintenance of low wages is responsible, has made domestic industries sever their mutually complementary relationships as supply markets and demand markets. Thus, the newly constructed secondary industries are included as specialization branches in the economies of foreign countries, without forming an integrated circulation structure of reproduction. This tendency runs counter to an independent development of the national economy.

When each domestic industry forms part of a foreign industrial structure in two fields, supply and demand, a problem is caused — not only rippling effects of economic development are lost abroad, but trading conditions aggravate due to the loss of leadership in foreign markets.

In such a case, there is a danger of an impoverishment growth due to “social dumping” because more exports are needed for the sake of maintaining the balance of international payment and lower wages are required to be maintained at home.

18. A Matter of Conscience

Time Magazine

September 13, 1976

Hahm Suk Hun, 75, a venerable leader of South Korea's Quakers and an advocate of nonviolence, had been imprisoned by the Japanese, the Russians and then by the authoritarian Syngman Rhee regime. Now he knew he faced imprisonment again. And so, each day during his trial, he came to the Seoul courtroom dressed in beige funeral robes to symbolize the death of his freedom—and of Korean democracy. When the four-month trial finally ended, he and 17 distinguished co-defendants were sentenced to terms ranging from two to eight years each. Said Hahm: "These were the best of our people. They have nothing to be ashamed of. It was a matter of conscience."

The matter of conscience occurred last March 1 at an ecumenical Mass in Seoul's Roman Catholic Myongdong Cathedral, marking the 57th anniversary of a Korean uprising against Japanese colonial rule. A group of political and religious opposition leaders decided to use the occasion to issue what they called a "Declaration for the Restoration of Democracy," protesting the iron rule of Park Chung Hee. "The country suffers under a one-man dictatorship with human rights trampled upon," the document said. "Under these circumstances, there is no other way but for the Park regime to step down."

Korea's cowed newspapers never printed the declaration, but within a few hours the Korean CIA (KCIA) began rounding up scores of people who had attended the Mass. In due course, 18 people, all Christians, were charged with violating Emergency Decree No. 9, a measure that the Confucian Park promulgated last year, forbidding criticism of his government or even of the emergency measure. Among the accused, along with Quaker Hahm: former President Yun Po Sun, 79, who held office from 1960 to 1961; Kim Dae Jung, 50, an opposition leader who lost by a narrow margin to Park in the 1971 presidential election; former Foreign Minister Chyung Yil Hyung, 72, and his lawyer wife, Lee Tai Young, 62.

The trial was hardly impartial transcripts of court sessions and even the charges were frequently delayed, thus hampering preparation of the defense. The defendants were not allowed to call any witnesses in their behalfs and there were irregularities in court procedure so flagrant that the 27 unpaid volunteer defense attorneys twice walked out in protest.

Courtroom Forum. Still, the defendants managed to turn the courtroom into a forum for their cause. In one full day of testimony, Kim Dae Jung, who has likened Park to an "Asiatic Hitler," charged that the regime's repressive policies were playing into the hands of Communist North Korea. Said he: "where there is no freedom to defend, how is it possible to fight Communism?"

One of the trial's most emotional moments occurred when the frail former President, Yun Po Sun, took the stand. "At the age of 78," he said, "my interest is not in making a political comeback, but only in seeing democracy restored in my country. The end of my life is drawing near everyday without my seeing any sign of improvement at all in Korea." Outside the courtroom, the defendants' wives and friends gathered daily on a nearby street corner, wearing large crosses embroidered on their clothes.

After the harsh sentences were handed down, the defendants promptly filed appeals last week and said they would take the case all the way to the supreme court if necessary, a process that would take at least a year. Meanwhile, many of them will remain in prison.

In Washington, which is providing Park with \$428.5 million this year and a 41,000-man U.S. armed force to keep the Communists at bay, the trial was viewed somewhat ambiguously. Last June, Congress passed legislation directing the Administration to protest "in forceful terms" within 60 days against the Park regime's persecution of dissidents. Last week an Assistant Secretary of State called in the South Korean ambassador and handed him a note saying that the Congress "view with distress the erosion of important civil liberties." State Department officials said, however, the note was not deliberately timed to coincide with the court verdicts. It was simply that the 60 days had expired.

19. Facts on South Korea

**by Korea-Study/Action
Group of the American
Friends Service Committee**

**This is written by the Korea-Study/Action
Group in Portland, Oregon of the American
Friends Service Committee.**

HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH KOREA

- * Park Chung Hee has made himself President for life.**
- * Park Chung Hee has given himself unlimited powers under the constitution.**
- * Park set up a system of military courts to enforce his powers.**
- * Thousands of people have been tried and found guilty by these secret military courts.**
- * Park uses the military and the Korean CIA to enforce his measures against students, the press, and churches.**

1961 – Park Chung Hee comes to power through a military coup.

1963 – Park is re-elected, with the help of millions of dollars taken from American corporations doing business in Korea, including one million dollars from Gulf Oil.

1971 – Park forced a constitutional change that allowed him to run for a third term, and again took money from American corporations to finance his campaign, including three million dollars from Gulf Oil.

1972 – For six weeks in September and October, Park suspended the National Assembly and declared martial law. At the end of that time he reconvened the Assembly and forced through a revised constitution, which made the following changes:

1) All effective power was put in the hands of the President, who was made President for life, with the power to suspend the Assembly and declare martial law at any time.

2) Though the constitution mentions and supports the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, many of the civil rights protected under the old constitution did not appear in the revised one, including the right of habeus corpus.

3) Article 53 gave the President power to take unlimited “necessary emergency measures”, including specifically the suspension of human rights, when national security or public safety if threatened.

By the time a new National Assembly had been elected under this revised constitution, Park’s Extraordinary State Council had enacted 271 laws.

Emergency Measures Passed By Park Chung Hee

Emergency Measures #1 and 2, passed January 8, 1974, declared it illegal to propose or petition for change in the Korean Constitution and set up a system of military courts to try people charged with violating an emergency measure.

Emergency Measure #3, passed later in January, is an austerity economic measure.

After a wave of student protest in the spring of 1974, Park closed

ten universities and passed Emergency Measure #4 on April 3 making it a crime punishable by five years to death to belong to or support, through money, publications, or demonstrations, the National Federation of Democratic Youth, or to miss classes or examinations.

Enforcement of the Emergency Measures

Thousands of people have been arrested under these emergency measures, many have confessed, been tried, and are now serving terms. According to a subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations which held hearings on human rights in Korea, virtually all the confessions have been made under torture.

The trials are held secretly and with no jury. The defendant is allowed one lawyer, one relative, and no witnesses.

On April 8, 1976, eight Koreans were hung after one of these military courts found them guilty of being members of the People's Revolutionary Party.

A number of churches have protested the violation of human rights in South Korea. Park responded by declaring that religious activity is legal, but political activity is not. He has deported American clergy, arrested many on charges of misappropriation of funds, infiltrated church organizations with Korean CIA agents, and arrested people for attending religious meetings.

Park has also moved against the press. He has ordered all businesses not to advertise in **Dong-A Ilbo**, Korea's largest and most respected newspaper, which has spoken out against Park. He also ordered papers not to print stories about the student demonstrations, has ordered many newspaper workers fired, and jammed the air waves of **Dong-A Ilbo's** subsidiary radio station.

In February, 1975, Park held a national referendum. There were only two sentences on the ballot. One read, "I support the major policies of Pres. Park." The other read, "I oppose the major policies of Pres. Park." No one was allowed to discuss the referendum or the policies, except the government, which campaigned heavily for a support

vote. 80% of the voters turned out. 73% voted in support, 25% voted in opposition. Opposition was centered more in the urban areas than in the rural areas, so Park timed the election to coincide with a holiday on which masses of urban families would be visiting relatives in the countryside and not vote.

In summation, Park has made himself a dictator in Korea, using the Korean CIA and the military to enforce his repressive measures, and a return to democratic control of the government by the people under his leadership does not seem likely.

**20. The Mainichi Shimbun:
POLICY "Put Any Suspect into Jail"
Backfires**

Follows an article carried in the Japanese-language daily "Mainichi Shimbun (evening edition) October 2, 1976 written by a correspondent in Seoul headlined "Policy 'Put Any Suspect into Jail' Backfires." Printed here are excerpts Ed.

SEOUL — Prisons in south Korea are overcrowded so that inmates can neither sit down, stand up nor lie there. Unless necessary steps are taken to remedy the situation, the land will become a "detention peninsula". A principal reason for this abnormal state is in the politico-ideological repression. More than 10 people are put into a three-and-a-half-mat cell and in some cases the cells shared with the insane. The Ministry of Justice is reportedly preparing to present before the current National Assembly an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act. The bill restricts the right of the defendants to appeal "to speed up proceedings."

10,000 Imprisoned Every Year

Every day south Korean newspapers report arrests of the ranking officials down to pickpockets, prowlers and bank burglars. Besides, there are stories on the arrests of political offenders. Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9—under which Mr. Kim Dae Jung and some others were rounded up—and the Anti-Communist Law are not only to crack down on the big shots. Some get arrested on a charge of violating Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9 by just whispering "It is groundless the oil deposits were tapped in Pohang"; a bad language to a policeman is punishable with a 2-year prison term under the Anti-Communist Law.

According to a survey by the south Korean Ministry of Justice, the total number of people put into 27 detention houses or prisons throughout the country amounts to over 66,000 as of late June last. The first

half year has seen a 10 per cent increase, an annual increase of 20 per cent.

This is why each prison has been overcrowded, making it very hard to maintain control over the imprisoned.

In case of the Sodaemun and Yongdungpo Prisons in Seoul City, over 10 people are kept in a four-and-a-half-mat or a three-and-a-half-mat cell. An evening newspaper in the city, Dong-A Ilbo says, "The prisoners there are mixed with the insane and can neither sit down nor stand up. In summer, sweat and stink make the cells intolerable, giving rise to a number of infectious skin diseases."

They must finish washing their faces before the jailors count ten. There also time for bathing is limited; only a few pails of water are available for each.

As for the Taegu Prison, antiquated workshops are used as a make-shift detention house. In Kwangju and Anyang Prisons new non-solitary cells are under construction. However, the construction speed is outstripped by the increase of the prisoners. The Ministry of Justice is hastening the construction of a large-scale detention house in Songdong District, Seoul, to be completed sometime within this year.

Three thousand seven hundred guards or officers are in charge of the prisons—each for 16 prisoners under trial or convicted—the job has fatigued the gaolers. As a result, an additional 900 have been assigned as jailors. (As of August 10, 1976, Japan has 46,000 inmates in prisons and 14,600 jailors.)

To say "South Korea is filled with prisons" may be an exaggeration. More than 21,000 government employees were arrested for accepting bribes and some thrown into jails. One-third of the total number of prisoners are "ranking government officials".

Various Institutions Utilized for Police Business

Bailment is usually not accepted even if the case is minor. The basic concept of the south Korean law-enforcement authorities is: "Put any suspect into jail". Various other institutions are mobilized to perform

police duties i.e. the Ministry of Home Affairs Headquarters for Security, the notorious Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Counter-Insurgency Command (CIC).

The courts, too, find themselves overcrowded. In case of the trial of the Japan resident students studying in their homeland who were accused of being “spying for north Korea” by the KCIA last November—they were punished wholesale as “criminals”. A small courtroom was filled with only the defendants and the KCIA agents, while there was no seat left for the defense counsel.

Interview Denied

When Mr. Kim Dae Jung, one of the defenders, at the trial of the “Declaration for Democratic National Salvation” issue, asked for more opportunities for interview with his family and defense counsel, the prosecutor refuted Kim’s statement in a strange logic, saying “Can you guess how many prisoners are now in the Seoul Detention House? You should know all the guards are too busy to arrange hundreds of interviews every day.”

Two main lawyers associations in Seoul recently pointed to the investigation authorities they are negligent of the human rights of the offenders. They submitted a draft programme for a reformed judiciary system, demanding that detaining and arresting the citizens without warrant be discontinued. It is quite apparant how easily the citizens are arrested when 30 per cent of the arrested have been released as not guilty and 40 per cent acquitted of the charges at the court.

An amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act dubbed a “summary trial system” is to be rammed through the National Assembly session. It is to drastically simplify the proceedings as well as to establish more prisons. Its main points are:

1. to restrict “unnecessary” intermediate and final appeals by the defendants;
2. to start the trial within 10 days and sentence within 24 days since the occurrence of a case if it is a simple one—these will become effective in next March.

Strong Apprehension to The Amendment

A Supreme Court justice is obliged to deal with 580 cases per year, two times that of the American counterpart. Very true in theory, if an intermediate appeal is relinquished, it would be greatly helpful to him. But in fact, 30 per cent of the intermediate-appeal-level cases have been decided in the defendants' favor, according to the statistics by the same court.

The opposition New Democratic Party, legal experts and lawyers express strong objection to the proposed amendment. They argue that "it is a product of a thought hostile to civilization, an evil bill which flagrantly infringes upon the human rights of the people. In the developed countries a physical evidence is essential for any legal proceeding, whereas in south Korea a confession is considered to be most important. This is a matter of serious apprehension.

21. Court Statements

by Kim Dae Jung
Dec. 13, 20, 1976
Seoul

(1)

Kim Dae Jung, former presidential candidate of south Korea, made statements at the appellate court in Seoul held on December 13 and 20, in connection with the "declaration for democracy and national salvation" published on March 1 last year.

Publishers of the declaration which criticized the Park Chung Hee dictatorial regime were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 2 and-half year to 8 years on charges of slandering the "revitalized system", and presenting a distorted picture of the realities of south Korea.

Proceedings in the court of appeals held on December 13 were conducted quickly, and the prosecutor took a strong attitude, saying that no criticism of the Park "regime" had ever been pardoned. Statements by Kim Dae Jung continued for over 4 hours that day.

Follow excerpts from his statements made on December 13:

(Questions were made by his counsel.)

Q: I heard that the March 1 declaration had been drafted by Rev.

Mun Ik Hwan. The prosecutor said: the declaration distorted the realities of the south Korean society because its drafter, who is a religionist, was not supposed to have a good knowledge of politics. What do you think of this point?

A: The content of the declaration describes well-known facts which all people in south Korea know well. They have sympathy with the content. Rev. Mun picked up these facts and described them in the declaration. So, the prosecutor's statement to the effect that religionists must not voice their views on politics, is not proper. Religionists should also work for the society.

Q: According to the prosecutor's argument, you falsified facts by taking up the matter without evidence and by talking about facts that do not exist.

A: We offered sufficient evidence. But, the prosecutor presented no evidence to disprove our statements. When the prosecutor insists we falsified facts, he should show evidence to prove his argument.

Q: The declaration calls for the restoration of democracy in south Korea. What do you think of the prosecutor's statement that European style democracy is not proper for south Korea?

A: I can not approve the idea that democracy should be restricted for the sake of economic development in a developing country. Economic development and democracy are mutually complementary.

It is not proper to pursue only economic development, ignoring democracy. Where there is no democracy, there is no economic development.

Any regime which sought economic development under a military dictatorial system declined and any such regime will surely decline.

Q: The declaration opposes the "revitalized system". But, the prosecutor asserted the system is necessary for national security, what do you think of it?

A: "President" Park Chung Hee said the "revitalized system" was necessary for anti-communism and "national security, despite the fact that when he started the "revitalized system" in October, 1972, he declared that the system was for national reunification. What did he mean by these remarks? Did he change the purpose of the "revitalized system"? Or, did he tell a lie? Guarantee of freedom is basic to national security.

The "government" use the words "national security" as a pretext for pursuing suppressive policy and maintaining "power".

I learned a large sum of campaign contributions was extorted from Gulf Oil Company by high-ranking "government" officials, as this was disclosed in U.S. Congress. What will south Korean diplomacy based on blackmail and bribery bring about?

Pressmen in south Korea know almost nothing about these facts. They are not allowed to know. They learn such news from abroad. People who are informed of nothing by the "government" can not trust the "government." Such a government not trusted by the people can not secure national security.

When the south Vietnamese "regime" collapsed in 1975, the price of trucks soared in south Korea. Many people were preparing to escape from south Korea with their assets loaded on trucks. The prices of gold and other precious metals also jumped. These show the uneasiness of the people under the present "regime". It is clear which system, democracy or dictatorship, can promote national security.

Q: You said there was not threat of southward invasion from the north. So, the prosecutor argued that you distorted fact, ignoring the prevailing situation.

A: I believe there is no threat of southward invasion. The "government" stresses that the people must have learned a lesson from the collapse of south Vietnam. But, I think the Vietnamese people felt strongly against the dictatorship. The people in south Vietnam could not endure the corrupt dictatorial regime which harshly suppressed the people. Our people also have strong feelings against a dictatorial system.

The “government” lays stress on “anti-communism” and propaganda intended to arouse crisis-mindedness among the people over what it calls the threat of southward invasion. But this is all intended to help them maintain “power”. Today, crisis-mindedness is being aroused only to shore up the dictatorial system.

Q: The persecutor states that you distorted the realities of the economic conditions of south Korea.

A: I think the direction of the economic development is wrong. South Korean industry should be based on agriculture, which is now neglected.

The agricultural population has decreased and labor in rural areas is short.

Contrarily, the rural population is flowing into urban communities, increasing unemployment in towns.

The “government” is following economic policies to serve the interests of big enterprises, and small enterprises are now going to ruin. Workers are suffering from starvation wages.

Some days ago I heard of the arrest of Li Hak Su. He owned a mansion priced at 600 million won, had deposits amounting to \$15 million with foreign banks and evaded taxes by registering his own stocks under others’ names. And it was he that printed the declaration of the military junta at the time of Park Chung Hee’s 1961 coup d’etat.

They say that when he was arrested he refuted the charge, saying “Why should only I be arrested, when there are many persons who have done illegal acts more serious than I?”

I cited the above instance to show that the question lies in the economic system itself.

A total deficit of \$2 billion in foreign trade was recorded in 1974 and 1975, respectively. It is natural that the people who know the “government” owes a huge amount of deficits should feed uneasiness

about national security.

Our declaration pointed out these problems, including the uneasiness of the people and improper economic policies.

Q: I should like to ask you about the motive to publish the March 1 declaration. According to the prosecutor's statement, you defendants published the declaration to oppose and slander the "government". What do you think of it?

A: I had been proposing a talk with the "president" to discuss any problem and to give my opinions. When the national referendum was held in 1974 to put the "revitalized system" to the vote, I demanded that the referendum should be carried out in fairness and in a free atmosphere. However, the referendum was carried out in such a way that the "government" made unrestricted propaganda for the "revitalized system", while suppressing opposition to the proposed system.

It was hard to understand "president" Park Chung Hee's rejection of my proposal for a talk with me who was supported by large number of people in the last "presidential" election held in 1971. Did he want to say this country was his own?

Q: The prosecutor argued that the publishers of the declaration schemed to overthrow the "government" by agitating the people.

A: "President" Park Chung Hee said at a press conference that democracy was nothing but a mere means of realizing a more comfortable life. But, I believe democracy is not a means but our objective.

The people have the right to criticize policies of the "government". It is an illegal act for the "government" to suppress criticisms of the wrong policies by the people, branding it as something to divide public opinion. For example, the "government" condemns us for talking about the KCIA's bribery of many U.S. Congressmen, despite the fact that the scandal is know well to the world public.

It is natural that there are more opinions among the people than

one. The important question is to forge a common public opinion by uniting various opinions. The “government” insisted that the people must not have opinions differing from “government” views.

When I was abducted by the KCIA from Japan, a youth who kept a watch on me, asked me, “Why do you oppose the nation?” Then, I replied I had never opposed the nation I only opposed the present “government”.

Q: What do you think of the prosecutor’s demand that the publishers of the declaration should be severely punished for profiteering the enemy, as the north played up the case and as the “government” was put at a disadvantage?

A: According to the prosecutor’s logic, the “government” should also be punished, for the KCIA’s bribery of foreign congressmen, which the north also played up. The north also reported the facts that high-ranking “government” officials and their wives were buying up luxury goods with ample money at their disposal, and that there were many beggars in south Korea. The “government” should arrest all these persons in accordance with the same logic.

Our “government” indulges in self-righteous thinking that only it loves the country and cares for the national security.

Q: According to the prosecutor, you publishers of the declaration plotted to seize “power” by illegal means.

A: I think the election held in 1971 was undoubtedly unfair. I had never violated the election law.

My house is under police surveillance all day long. My secretaries were often taken to the police, and were tortured during interrogation.

Recently, I heard that Kang Mun Bong, a “National assemblyman”, was arrested and tortured by the KCIA on charges of plotting to overthrow the “government” in conspiracy with Chong Il Kwon, chairman of the “national assembly”. Later, he was said to be forced to present his resignation as an “assemblyman”, despite the fact that he was

a member of the ruling party.

It is also a well-known fact that Kim Song Gong, a bigwig of the ruling party, was harshly tortured by the KCIA. .

In this country, nobody is allowed to speak or act as he thinks. There is only one who has freedom. Even a bigwig of the ruling party has no freedom.

The “government” said in 1972 that it would have a dialogue with the north for national reunification, transcending ideas and ideals.

What was the purpose of the present “government” in approving the north-south dialogue? When I met Chong Il Kwon in Japan after the “government” began to talk of the north-south dialogue, he said to me: Unity of public opinion was necessary for a dialogue. But, opposition parties stood against the “government”. Therefore, the “revitalized system” was required to strengthen state “power”. I considered that the north-south dialogue and national reunification as interpreted by the “government” were nothing but a pretext to shore up the dictatorial system.

Q: What do you think of the prosecutor’s argument that emergency measures are necessary for unity of the people, and that the defendants undermined this unity.

A: Under a suppressive system, no unity can be realized. Unity is made up of the will of the people themselves. It never springs from suppression. And unity is not for only one person.

Q: The prosecutor said you tried to overthrow the “government” by agitating the people. What do you say to it?

A: The prosecutor said we presented a picture of the distorted realities. But, as a matter of fact, it was the “government” that distorted the realities. There is no one at home or abroad who thinks that we have the intention to overthrow the “government” by violence.

I am in principle against violence. I think the present

“government” is the most brutal one, and it is useless confronting it with violence. The charge that we tried to overthrow the “government” by violence was fabricated to mislead public opinion at home and abroad.

Q: The prosecutor condemns you by saying that the defendants gave publicity to this case overseas through their families, using this case as an example of violation of human rights in this country.

A: We are unjustifiably detained. At last, we have been allowed to meet our families only once a week. In meetings with my wife, I am informed of the situation abroad. Then I learned that the Koreans in Japan had staged a one million signature collection campaign, appealing to the United Nations for withdrawal of the U.S. forces from south Korea.

Q: The declaration calls for the strengthening of democratic forces, in preparation for the day of national reunification.

The prosecutor condemned the publishers for their assertion as ignoring the nation's future.

A: Our declaration was not based on lust for “power” as the prosecutor stated. When Korea was once under the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, we Korean people claimed that Japan should return the sovereignty to the Korean people. Even then, the Japanese authorities imposed prison terms of up to 3 years upon those who made a claim to Korea's sovereignty.

The prosecutor, however, demanded prison terms of up to 10 years for me and some other publishers of the declaration on charges of criticizing the present “government”.

The emergency measures now in force were proclaimed without approval by the “national assembly” and without the time limit being set, by reason of the presence of a certain “possibility”.

Q: The prosecutor argued that freedom of the press was guaranteed in this country, and the defendants distorted this fact.

A: Can the number of papers prove that there is freedom of the press in this country?

I was surprised at the court decision which looked as if it were copied entirely from the prosecutor's arguments. Does this mean that only the presecutor made right statements, while we falsified facts?

To my surprise, the judge sentenced to a prison term of 3 years Rev. Li Hae Dong, who merely helped Rev. Mun Il Hwan print the declaration.

Of course, a quick trial is necessary, but the most important is to present sufficient facts.

(2)

**Follow excerpts from Kim Dae Jung's
court statements made on December 20 in the
Seoul appellate court:**

Ten months have passed since we published the March 1 declaration. In the meantime, all democratic forces, all our friends and all the churches in the world have supported us and are praying for us.

I should like to express my gratitude to the defence counsels who vigorously and sincerely defended not only us, the publishers of the declaration, but also all the people of our country.

I also should like to extend my thanks to the pressmen at the public gallery, who have been covering the proceedings of our trial though their papers have been prevented from printing their stories.

In the past ten months in jail, we survived various forms of oppression. We are convinced of our victory, however severe penalties may be given by the judge who is under pressure from the government.

From now, I should like to express my views on the Park Chung Hee regime and on the present state of Korea.

As I have repeatedly asserted, the “revitalized constitution” is neither for the people nor for national security, but for Park Chung Hee himself, who intends to maintain his rule. Under the “revitalized system,” no democracy can exist in Korea. There can be no freedom or human rights. No sound development of the economy is possible as long as the “revitalized constitution” is in effect. The constitution is designed to shore up the dictatorial system. There is no reason why we should fight against communism under the present regime.

I am convinced that democracy is widely accepted by the south Korean people who have already matured enough. The April 19 student revolution showed that our people have the capacity to defend democracy. We had several presidential and general elections in the past, which, of course, were unfair elections. In those elections, however, over 40% of the total votes were casted for the opposition candidates. This fact proves how the south Korean people are politically matured and accept democracy. We need and yearn after the peaceful reunification of our fatherland. To restore democracy in Korea is the only way to achieve national reunification peacefully.

I demand as follows:

First, the government should abolish the “revitalized system.” Thereafter, a free and fair national referendum should be held.

Second, all the emergency decrees should be annulled.

Third, the government should release democratic personages from prison at once and reinstate the purged professors, pressmen and students in their former positions.

To put an end to the suppression of democratic personages is the only way to cope with what the government calls the “threat of southward invasion.”

Fourth, the government should disband the KCIA.

Reports say that the former director of the KCIA sought political asylum and took refuge in the U.S. 8th army command.

We have proposed to have a talk with the government for the sake of our country. I am always ready to have a talk with Park Chung Hee.

I have been criticizing the government. If the south Korean people judge our criticisms of the government to be correct, the dictatorial system can not remain. They are wise enough to judge.

Public criticism abroad is also necessary for the restoration of democracy. But, as I said before, I am in principle against violence. I have no intention to overthrow the government by violence. We can overthrow the present regime, if we all south Korean people are prepared to be thrown into jail.

The government could kill me, when I was abducted by the KCIA from Japan. But I am living here now. Under any circumstances, my trust in my people will remain unchanged. Therefore, I do not care about a decision of this court.

22. Final Statement

by Kim Chi Ha
Dec. 23, 1976
Seoul

Kim Chi Ha, a South Korean dissident poet, was sentenced on Dec. 31, 1976 to prison term of 7 years and the same period of “suspension of civil rights”, on the charge of being a “communist” because he had revealed that the “People’s Revolutionary Party” case was a frame-up. Follow excerpts of his final statement at the 13th trial held on Dec. 23, 1976:

Let me remind once again that my thought is not so mature and elaborate as to be named. But if asked to define it in a word, I would say it is an ideology of unity. My thought is for a world of unity and fellowship where all the contradictions are fully revealed and then truly overcome. For a long time, I have cherished a dream of unifying God and revolution and thought of the unity of bread and freedom, heaven and earth, prayer and action. And now, I am under a far vividder illusion of unity.

Such an idea of unity was born of my own personal experience with the people and of my poetry-writing life and religious faith. My belief was consolidated as I found traces of similar attempts in the works of many of my contemporary intellectuals, men of letters and scholars in this country. I am convinced that such phenomenon is no accident and that the very thought of unity I have been seeking to complete is what our era requests, a demand of our nation.

The immediate task before our national history is to reunify the north and the south. I firmly believe that the fact that it means not a simple territorial reintegration but a real national reunification provides

a decisive ground for my long-dreamt thought of unity. From a practical point of view, the reunification is the only way our nation should take for prosperity and the only alternative left to us in order to reach a world of true fellowship, in defiance of all sorts of oppression within and without. And this reunification would never be accomplished either by any artifice or by force. We need thoroughly new idea, an entirely new spirit and a completely new man. For this reason at this court I am madly crying out for an illusive unity.

The ultimate objective of the thought of unity is to attain what is called koinonia in Christianity. Its practical task at present is to carry out a people's democratic revolution in this country. I have already given a full account of the character of this people's democratic revolution. And I have also defined the objects of the revolution as the corrupt dictatorial power, the exploiter capitalists and the present regime itself which is a cat's-paw of foreign neo-colonialist forces.

As a matter of fact, it is an extremely difficult job to overthrow the Park regime — which holds all the state powers and machines, has accumulated huge fortunes in cahoots with the depraved comprador financial cliques and is backed up by the neo-colonialists in every possible manner. The Park regime is deceiving and keeping in line the population by mobilizing all kinds of new knowledge, technology and intelligence, not to mention overwhelming violence.

Those who have come back from America or Europe, calling themselves doctors or professors, head for the Blue House as soon as they alight from the plane. No sooner do they arrive at the Blue House than they prostitute their abilities for the exploitation and deception of the people. In this context, what could I, a penniless sluggard, do? Practically speaking, it is not too much to say that there hardly exists any individual or organization capable of fulfilling our desire for a democratic revolution vis-a-vis the gigantic oppressive capacity of the present regime. From another point of view, it may be true that the "benevolence" of the present regime makes it possible for me to hold on.

Here in this country a certain social sector remains unaffected, no matter how wild this regime may run. The more lashes, the more

stubbornly they resist. In other words, day-laborers roaming the urban areas — who had to give up even a worn-out life in the country, crowd into the cities, but were unable to join even the line of the fagged factory workers — the thieves, prostitutes and beggars: the submerged tenth. I used the term the lumpen proletariat in order to refute the prosecutor's nonsensical allegation that I was supporting a communistic revolution by the proletariat, and for the purpose of proving my thought's sociological aspect to some degree. These common people at the bottom of the society are the youngest brothers written in the Bible and the "backward blessed on the earth" according to Franz Fanon.

With no amount of maneuver can never the present government allay their long-pentup resentment, and the more it oppresses them, the more their resentment is compressed only to help its ignition point come earlier. I know that it will explode before long with a tremendous energy. How could I as an intellectual and a Christian leave it to take its own course? When the pent-up fury of the people is transformed into blind violence, its consequences will be disastrous. Herein lies the necessity for the Christian idea of nonviolence and love to be taught to the people for their self-knowledge. And this must be done not as some tactical combination or negotiation but as a real unity. Grudge at the root and the blood of Christ must become one. This is the very path to a human resurrection for each of the common people subjected to starvation, ill-treatment and all the immoralities. I believe that is what a revolutionary religion advocating the teachings of Jesus Christ in the world of today should be.

The split into the north and the south which has already lasted for one generation remains today an enormous symbol of all the divisions and contradictions conditioning our life and at the same time the primary cause actually aggravating and preserving these contradictions. The establishments in the north and the south all alike form a factor obstructing true fellowship within our people, within our nation and common to mankind.

It was proved long ago that the Park regime, by pretending to be desirous of the reunification, tried to promote the north-south dialogue but as a deceptive maneuver to prolong its days. Today the regime is rather openly seeking to consolidate and perpetuate the division. Out of

question, the Park regime is the first direct obstacle to the reunification and a lackey faithful to the neo-colonialist forces who want to see the Korean nation kept split.

To achieve the reunification, we have to disclose among other things this fact. This truth must come to light. It is quite natural that the Park regime will respond to such our efforts with imprisonment and execution. Therefore, I think that aspiring after the reunification is tantamount to getting detained at the Sodaemun Prison. As far as I am concerned, I believe this is my only way, and I attach due significance to my past three-year life in jail.

Considering the conditions in the north and the south, I assume that a people's democratic revolution will take place first in the south. I am not a prophet, but I can say with a firm confidence that the day is certain to come in a near future when the dictatorial regime oppressing and exploiting the people collapses; the freedoms of the press, publication and assembly restored; the Anti-Communist Law abolished; and the flower-like young people now in prison all released. A splendid "Spring in Athens" is nearing the Republic of Korea. The "Spring in Athens" in the south will prompt changes in the north. A "Spring in Prague" will also come to the north, presumably in the form of intra-party democracy or through some other kind of popular consciousness. Thus "Spring in Athens" and "Spring in Prague" will gradually envelope the whole of the Korean Peninsula, becoming a great spring, a spring on the peninsula. Such shining spring drawing near and welcomed by us in this way is my ideal picture of reunification.

Suffice to say such reunification presupposes efforts on the part of numbers of politicians, revolutionaries, intellectuals and scholars. My belief is, however, that the pure-hearted and innocent younger generation will play a key role in the union of these "springs". As monkeys, rabbits, pheasants and deer frisk and romp about along the silent Demilitarized Zone, the young people will eventually get together there to talk with each other, sing and dance all night, search for a new thought and build new fellowship. Only by expanding this fellowship, can the present-generation executives make their fruitful endeavors the influence of which in due course of time will be felt in every nook and corner of the peninsula. And new ideas and new man to be born thereof

will not only serve the reunification of the Korean Peninsula but become guides for the Third World people in their strivings to attain their own self-awakening which will in turn produce the whole mankind's redemption and completion of humanity, and will make a contribution to realizing a peaceful world in which a spear is melted to make a plowshare as in The Book of Isaiah.

You may consider my thought insane. But I am confident that my illusion of the reunification is an omen of a shining spring now on its way to this peninsula. This illusion of reunification makes me happy while in a small cell, deprived of all kinds of liberty. This is the happiness of anguish, more precious than that I can get from a woman. For the sake of this reunification illusion, I will fight to the last and willingly accept any sufferings.

Time and again, I have already refuted in detail the prosecutor's groundless charges. I am of course innocent. But I don't care whether I will be released or not. True I was disturbed a lot during this period. Many things came to my mind, possibility would I be released or bailed? But now, I have dissuaded myself from thinking of all these things. My mind is in peace and full of happiness. My only hope is that a decision will be handed down not in favor of me but in favor of the truth.

Let me add. I feel very sorry for the People's Revolutionary Party people. Although there's no use crying over the dead, those alive should be released at an earliest possible date. We can resign ourselves to what we did, motivated by our own confidence. I am ashamed to say that we have enjoyed the respect of correctors and other inmates. What are the grudges harbored by those who were executed or are still undergoing hardships on fabricated charges? Everyone who has given up the effort to save them for his own personal safety will not be free from the charge of being an accomplice with the present regime.

Lastly, I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound thanks to Father Ham Se Woong, Father Mun Jong Hyung and Father Shin Hyun Bong who went so far as to go on a hunger strike for me, and Pastor Yun Pan Ung, Professor So Nam Dong, Professor Mun Dong Hwan, Mr. Kim Dae Jung, and also to many other people whose names I don't know. And numerous students whom I have put to trouble

— I wish for their earliest release. We are now having rough time.

Well, tomorrow is the day when the Lord will come, and a significant day of promise for myself, too. God bless all of the people.

**23. Statement of Reasons for the Final Appeal
To the Supreme Court**

**by Yun Po Son
Jan. 28, 1977
Seoul**

Former south Korean president Yun Po Son, who is now prosecuted by the Park Chung Hee regime in connection with the “case of the declaration for democracy and national salvation,” on Jan. 28 submitted to the Seoul supreme court a statement of reasons for appeal.”

In the statement he strongly demanded Park Chung Hee step down from power, the “yushin system” abolished, democracy restored, peace and reunification achieved on the basis of democracy and a “joint popular front” against the Park “regime” formed.

The former president also condemned the “regime” for the “KCIA’s” payoffs to Japanese and American politicians.

As is known, Yun Po Son and his fellow dissidents, who made public the March 1 manifesto, rejected illegal penalties inflicted upon them at the Seoul “high court” on Dec. 29 last year and appealed to the supreme court.

I appeal from the finding of the Seoul high court of justice on December 29, 1976, and make the following statement of reasons for appeal:

We made an appeal not because we expect and hope that the supreme court will pass a fair finding.

We cannot but be found guilty at the revitalisation court, a theatre of farcical trial for dictatorship. And, in fact, we were given the verdict of guilty in the first and second instances.

It cannot but be said that it is stupid to expect the judge appointed by Park Chung Hee to absolve us who demanded the resignation of Park Chung Hee.

But we are not guilty. The court of truth, the court of conscience, the court of people and the court of history in the not distant future will declare that we were right.

What we demanded in the declaration for democracy and national salvation is the full restoration of democracy, an independent economic system, the dignity of the nation and sincere efforts for national reunification, etc. There was and is no change in my conviction that this is the only way for the nation to live.

In the spirit of the declaration for democracy and national salvation, I hereby make clear my view on the tasks we should urgently carry out at present.

My statement will not be an excellent one. But I sincerely hope you will not ignore it, thinking that it is a statement in the last moments of an old man who loves the country.

(1) The Park Regime Must Withdraw

The Park regime frustrated through the May 16 coup d'état the national revolution for freedom and democracy which the popular masses of this country gained at the cost of their blood and usurped the power through the revision of the constitution for its third term election and four fraudulent elections. In October 1972 it scrapped the constitution and trumped up by force the so-called revitalisation constitution, mobilizing tanks and guns and proclaiming a martial law to completely bury democracy in our country.

And the Park regime, arbitrarily applying the anti-communist law, the national security law, a plot for rebellion and emergency measures, has held a countless number of political trials and suppressed numerous patriotic youths, students and democratic personages and subjected them to indescribably brutal penalties and tortures.

The Park regime has also deprived all people of the most elementary human liberty to see, hear and speak, violated their bodies, lives and conscience and freedom of learning and religion and suppressed the right of all the masses of the people to lead a life worth leading as human being. This is the first reason why we oppose the Park regime.

In 1965 the Park regime, sealing up the people's opposition with a martial law and garrison decree, concluded the humiliating south Korea-Japan agreements and since then it has taken the road of dependence upon the outside forces, running off the road of the independent development of our national economy. In particular, it has sought dependence upon Japan in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres to maintain the power of the corrupt privileged classes.

To get a few dollars of foreign currency, the Park regime encouraged the selling of the chastity of our women to the Japanese as a state policy and totally trampled down the self-respect and pride of the nation with its diplomacy of dependence upon outside forces, prostitution diplomacy and bribery diplomacy, landing our country in international isolation. This is the second reason why we oppose the Park regime.

The Park regime has used the question of reunification, the supreme task of our national only as a means of maintaining its existence, and totally prevented our masses of the people from participating in the settlement of this important problem.

They have sought permanent division, not reunification, and a war atmosphere, not peace, and thereby maintained their dictatorship.

They used the atmosphere of north-south dialogue and the national desire for reunification in trumping up the revitalised system. They proclaimed a state of war and hastily cooked up the so-called

wartime laws, thus further intensifying the suppression of civil rights.

This is the third reason why we oppose the Park regime.

In addition to all these reasons, there is one more reason that makes us loudly cry today for the withdrawal of the Park regime.

According to what was brought to light recently in foreign countries, over the past years the Park regime has made huge payoffs to the high-ranking politicians, businessmen and men of the press in Japan and the United States, entreating them to support its dictatorial regime. The Park regime is detestably behaving to conceal its truth from the people. We cannot repress indignation at the fact that some leaders of the United States, having received big bribes, patronized the Park regime's suppression of human rights of the popular masses and strongly demand that the U.S. Government thoroughly clarify the truth of this case and make public the whole picture without concealing to us people of south Korea.

We also cannot but note that the whole people are outraged by the fact that some corrupt forces of Japan, colluding with the Park regime, have provided it with a material basis for its suppression of human rights.

We cannot repress surprise and indignation above all at the fact that the Park regime which has all along loud-mouthed about the liquidation of flunkeyism, irregularities and corruption has maintained its power by such despicable means.

This is the true colors of south Korean style democracy.

The Park regime must withdraw at once.

We cannot tolerate even a moment the regime which has so disgracefully defamed the dignity and honour of the nation, Park regime which put us out of countenance before the world, reducing us to a servile nation.

Indeed, what has increased in the 16 years of the Park regime is

dictatorship, corruption and suppression of human rights, pollution, taxes, price hike and the gap between the rich and the poor, foreign capital, low wage labour and dependence upon the outside forces and what has retrogressed in this period is democracy, social justice, the independence and self-respect of the nation and prospect for peace on the Korean Peninsula and reunification. As long as there is the Park regime, there can be neither freedom, nor democracy, nor peace, nor reunification. As long as the Park regime is left intact, our national history cannot make progress.

(2) The Revitalized System Must Be Abolished And Democracy Reliaized

The revitalised system is a system of violence and an authoritarian system hurriedly knocked into shape by tanks, bayonets and martial law. Since the establishment of the revitalised system the ruler's repression has been further intensified to make the disunity between the ruler and the people more acute, render our country more isolated in the international community, lead the north-south dialogue to a rupture and increase the danger of a war. It is the unanimous view of all people with proper discernment and judgement that the abolition of the revitalised system and the realization of democracy in the political, economic and all other fields of society are the only way of breaking the present deadlock, promoting the human rights and building the fatherland of independence, peace and reunification. To this end, the following tasks must be carried out without delay:

— The Park regime must state that the so-called revitalised constitution is invalid originally from the course of its institution and, accordingly, declare null and void the present emergency measures based on the revitalised constitution.

At the same time, a new democratic government must be formed without delay through general elections guaranteeing free discourse and unbiased election control under a provisional election control power which ensures the broad participation of the people and a new order of democratic constitutional government based on the faithful guarantee of all the human rights and the principle of the division of powers must be established forthwith.

— All the political prisoners must be released at once, all the political trials held under the Park regime be nullified and the search and pursuit of political refugees be stopped. The so-called social security law, a law for medieval violation of human rights which totally denies and deprives the political offenders of their human rights under the name of “punishment for security reasons” be immediately abrogated.

— All suppression terrifying the people such as tortures, arrest without warrant, detention without trial, surveillance, threat, shadowing and kidnapping must be discontinued and the power organ which makes a practice of committing such suppression be abolished.

— Freedom of political opposition, freedom of speech, campus freedom and the independence of the judicial administration must be thoroughly guaranteed and the students, professors, journalists and judicial officers who were expelled from schools or offices for the reason that they were critical of the power be reinstated. Freedom of religion must be ensured and all attempts of the power to control religion be given up.

— All the people must be ensured with a life worth leading as human being and all the present legal and practical restrictions on the labour movement be abolished. The agricultural cooperatives must be placed on a democratic basis to become an independent cooperative organisation of the peasants. The workers, peasants, fishermen, urban paupers and all other popular masses must be ensured the rights to freely speak, unite and act for their own will and interests.

(3) Peace Reunification Must Be Based on Democracy

The fact that the country divided by the outside forces is standing in confrontation against each other for more than 30 years is the source of all tragic sufferings of our nation today.

Reunification must be accelerated on the three principles of independence, peace and great national reconciliation. To this end, the following points must be taken into consideration:

— Only the realisation of democracy guaranteeing the popular

masses' participation and free expression of will is the first factor contributing to reunification. Security should presuppose giving priority to the guarantee of security for every individual person.

The security of the state where the security of each individual person is not guaranteed is nothing but the strengthening of dictatorship and the perpetuation of the one-man administration.

— The United States and Japan must see that their tripartite bonds with south Korea not be geared to encourage split against reunification, obstruct the dialogue of the nation or stimulate retrogression from democracy.

— Only by taking the above-mentioned points as a basis can the road to reunification creating a climate of harmony and great unity among the masses of the people in the north and the south be opened.

We must make clear the national consciousness that the nuclear arms race and nuclear retaliation must be reserved to the last.

— A new threat has today arisen on the road to the independent and peaceful reunification of our nation. It is that the Park regime shows the inclination to seek the so-called “security cooperation” with the ultra-rightist forces of Japan. Our nation must not tolerate the so-called “south Korea-Japan security cooperation” which signifies that Japan's domination over south Korea involves military domination, going beyond economic and political domination.

It must be noted that such “security cooperation” is a move to intensify dictatorship and perpetuate the split, not an extension of democracy for the security of everyone of the people.

Accordingly, it is crystal clear that this will result in perpetuating the national split and furthering the war line in south Korea in violation of the great principle of “independent reunification without outside interference” and in hastening the rearmament, reinforcing the expansionist ultra-rightist militarist forces and accelerating the retreat of democracy in Japan. South Korea-Japan cooperation must be based on the confirmation of the value of democracy.

If not so, the peoples of south Korea and Japan must make all efforts to hold in check such developments and form a joint front for this purpose.

(4) Joint Front of People Against the Park Regime Must Be Formed

In the reality of the history of the nation at present our struggle for the national target of democracy, the independence of the nation and national reunification is one struggle that can not be waged, separated from each other. The great cause of independence and reunification can not be advanced without democracy in which the masses of the people are the master making the history of our nation. This is the present reality.

Therefore, our immediate, greatest task in this struggle is to oppose the one-man rule of the Park regime.

Herein lies the reason why the struggle should be waged to form a “joint front of the people against the Park regime, for democracy and national reunification”.

We have learnt from the past experiences that victory can be won not merely through a symbolic organisation of notables, a nominal struggle of opposition parties or such verbal struggle as statements but only through the participation of the broad segments of the people and a practical and resolute struggle. This is the reason why we advocate the formation of a joint front organization embracing all people.

All those who love the country and are concerned for the future of the nation must be allowed to participate in the joint front of the people. Especially, like the ordinary popular masses, the oppressed office employees and members of search organs including police and intelligence-men be also allowed to join this front.

In fact, their desire is the same as ours.

We are not hasty to expect that such joint front of the people will be quickly formed or expanded on a large scale nor do we hastily hope that a well-systematized organisation will be formed to wage a struggle.

Nevertheless, to wage the struggle for paving our way, overcoming all the difficulties, and the struggle of the people of all strata for the overthrow of the Park regime, for democracy and national reunification, using all meetings, time and opportunities is our urgent national task and we are convinced that this will surely bring us victory.

Concluding Words

I clarified my view on the spirit of the March 1 declaration for democracy and national salvation and on the road to be followed by us in accordance with this spirit.

The supreme court, however, may again give the verdict of guilty on charges of involvement in the March 1 case, without judging my above-mentioned view.

If the supreme court, however, wants to pass a just finding at the dictates of the conscience of judicial officers in adjudging all the “cases of violation of the emergency measures” including the March 1 case, it must declare the emergency measures null and void.

Because, the emergency measures are based on the revitalised constitution which is not a constitution revised in accordance with the legal procedures of constitutional amendment or instituted in accordance with a genuine and free agreement but a code of distatorship which was unilaterally faked up by Park Chung Hee alone by using illegal violence and is therefore invalid in principle.

24 . S. Korean Female Employees' Appeal

**Feb. 6, 1977
Inchon, Korea**

Female employees of Dong-Il Spinning Co., Ltd. in Inchon, S. Korea, held on Feb. 6 a meeting with the backing of various mass organizations to denounce the oppression of employees by the employers and a company union.

Follows the full text of their appeal:

For Life Worthy of Human Beings

Please listen to the lamentations of the miserable employees living under maltreatment and oppression by the employers and crying for a life worthy of human beings.

We appeal to common people desiring freedom and equality in this country, to encourage us in our isolated struggle to demand human rights, and to criticize the employers trampling underfoot the poor employees, deceiving and despising them, calling them "ignorant people."

There are not a few employees suffering like us in this country. Therefore, we have gathered together to denounce this injustice and win our rights, at the expense of our personal interests.

We are female employees of Dong-Il Spinning Co., Ltd. in Inchon who have been subjected to maltreatment by the management, who changed our trade union into a company union by influencing the election of trade union delegates a year ago. We are living in a stifling atmosphere unable to exchange glances with each other, to eat good meals or freely to go to the lavatory. We have made efforts to get rid of this deplorable state — the management interfering in our circle activities for our cultural life, or even in our private life; the bloated faces of employees suffering from

tuberculosis, water eczema and indigestion; temperature rising to 40°C and dusty workshop; supervisors' constant watch; and suppression of trade union activists.

We elected a woman as president of our local chapter for the first time in our country in 1972 and formed the executive committee of the union, overcoming obstacles placed by the management. We were proud of it being a trade union for the employees. In 1975 we also elected as president of the local another woman who was supported by the majority of the employees.

But in 1976 the management continuously interfered in the election of trade union delegates and threatened and disciplined the union members.

The management formed a group of the anti-trade unionists, recommended those as members of the executive committee and prevented a trade union convention from being held successfully. It not only forced us to support the anti-trade unionists as executive committee members during work hours but also forced active members and trade union delegates to resign, finding fault with trifling things, suspending them, transferring them to other jobs, changing their seats in the office and making them do porter's work.

The management prevented us from attending a union meeting by resorting to kinds of tricks — kidnapping executive committee members and making us leave the office earlier than usual on the previous day of a union meeting closely cooperating with the anti-trade unionists.

Union leaders desiring higher positions in the trade union made other trade unionists who worried about the living of their families unconditionally obey the orders of the management, giving bribes such as wine, money and clothes and inviting them to a dinner. They usually used violent and rude language to women members of the executive committee and committed all kinds of violence to them. They are lackeys employed by the management. Exempted from doing work on the pretext of preparing for a meeting, they indulged in playing games, spoiled meeting and ignored the suffering of the employees. We resolved that we never surrender our trade union to such a set, unable to repress

our anger at their suppression in the past six months and at their plots to destroy our trade union.

Resistance to Employers' Barbarous Acts

The management nailed the doors of the dormitory, shut the doors of the mill and made the trade union members unable to move, so that they could hold a farcical meeting attended by only the anti-trade unionists on July 3, last year. As the police took the woman president of the local to the police station, we carried out a sit-in strike in the mill to protest against the barbarous acts of the management. When we staged a hunger strike for three days under the blazing sun, we were thirsty and hungry, and fell. Finally as the management cut off water supply, we fainted.

The management made the guards to throw away the drinking water and ice supplied by our parents and friends. The guards gave kicks to our old parents, dragged them about and used violent language to them, calling them "ignorant people."

On the evening of July 25 when we were completely exhausted, the policemen broke into the mill where we were staging a sit-in strike to disperse us by dashing cars at us. We took off our clothes and become half-naked so that we might not be dragged about by the police. We will never forget how we sang the song of our trade union with a tearful voice, with our clothes in one hand.

The guards, workers on the management side and policemen knocked us down by brandishing clubs, trampled down on us with their muddy shoes, pulled our hair and herded us into the cars. We tried to jump off the cars and break the window. We stopped the cars by throwing ourselves before the cars. As a result, seventy-two of us were taken to the police station, fifty fell unconscious, fourteen taken to a hospital.

Two of those taken to the hospital fell into a coma. More than 200 employees dashed to the police station, demanding the release of the arrested. Over 300 employees went to the headquarters of the textile workers' trade union in Seoul to ask for its aid in getting the arrested workers released.

Miss Li Sun Ok hospitalized at the Holy Mother Hospital in Seoul fell into critical condition. She suffered from mental derangement. We took her a mental hospital on Nyoil Island. She left the hospital in 20 odd days and continued her struggle at the trade union office for two months, determined to defend the trade union. But she was suspended from her job and returned home.

Since the sit-in struggle, the management has forced the trade union activists to sign a written apology or to leave the office.

Appeasement of Union

Our bloody struggles were reported to many people in this country.

Kim Yong Tae who is now chairman of the trade union, presented a non-confidence motion against the then chairman Pang Sun Jak on grounds that he was unable to cope with the situation in Dong-Il Spinning Co., at a delegates' meeting held on July 29, last year, in the union headquarters, and made him resign from his post. Then, Kim made an impassioned speech, pretending that he thought of those employees more than anyone, and was elected chairman, as he said that if he was elected chairman, he would surely deal with this situation.

We asked him to hold a election of new delegates and open a union meeting in order to solve the problem as early as possible. When we were taken to the police station, the then chairman Pang Sun Jak promised us to solve the problem.

But the new executive committee only delayed the solution of the problem. When we went to the headquarters to appeal to it at the request of the employees, the executive committee threatened us, saying that if we came to the headquarters in large number, that would not be good for us. The executive committee was indifferent to the solution of the problem. When we went to the headquarters again to solve the problem, Kim Yong Tae, who is now chairman, said to us that he planned to run for the post of trade union and that his election as chairman was a key to the solution of the problem, and asked us to support him in the election.

We patiently waited. On Nov. 5, last year, the headquarters dispatched Li Pung U, director of the planning department, as chairman of the committee to solve the problem. We entrusted him with all powers and waited for the day of election of union delegates, believing in the conscience of the headquarters. On the contrary, the headquarters suppressed us and showed unusual interest in revising the labor contract and in making the employees on the management side trade union members on the pretext of raising the quality of the union.

We opposed the revision to the last, thinking that the labor contract should not be revised, because we thought that to accept employers on the management side as trade union members was as good as to surrender the trade union to the management.

For Our Own Rights by Ourselves

We trembled with anger to see an official document sent from Kyonggi Province on December 25. It was the labor contract renewed with the management in the name of the section director, Li Pung U, and approved by the governor of Kyonggi Province. We were so much angry that we went to the head office to meet the chairman, who disappointed us all the more.

We demanded that he tell the whole story. But, cutting his nails as if he was not interested in such a problem, he said unreasonable things to us: "How dare you women conduct a labor movement without getting married? You are only wandering about just because you are now mesmerized." On top of that, Pak Un Yang, clothing branch chief of Seoul, who was beside him, said pounding on his desk, "You are making a fuss. How sensible do you think you are?" Saying like this, he roared out at us, and found fault with our lack of education.

Yes. We have been unable to study because of our poverty. We have been despised as uneducated people. It is because of this that we managed to save money from our meager wages and pay it to the headquarters with the hope of obtaining better treatment.

We were despised as ignorant workers again by those who had promised to use the money to work for us. More than eighty per cent

of the workers under the influence of the textile trade unions are women like us. Notwithstanding this, the textile union chairman, who is proud of being chairman of a 150,000-member union, despises the women workers. It is doubtful if he is a true executive of the trade union. I can by no means admit that he is so.

In addition, he told us to make a clerk our branch chairman and make clerks occupy the posts of half the standing committee members. He even resorted to appeasement saying that an election would be held forcibly. And he went so far as to say that the workers have only to get their wages raised, and that they should not make a fuss about rights or human rights.

Thus, we were deceived by the executives of the headquarters who said they would act for our rights but did not permit us to enter freely any of the office rooms at the headquarters of the textile workers' union. Whom can we rely on?

We have finally decided to win our own rights through our own efforts and pledged to fight until the officials at the headquarters who call themselves our fellow workers, though trampling underfoot our trade union in collusion with the management, are forced to solve the problem.

It is precisely because of their dirty secret intention to tire us and make us give up our struggle that they have delayed the solution.

Now a stifling atmosphere surrounds the workplace because the management watches us all the time so that union members and their delegates may not meet each other.

Fight Faithful to Our Conscience

We are going to expose the unconscientious activities of the union headquarters and condemn the barbarous suppression of workers by the management for the sake of the rights and interests of all the 13,000 workers of Don-Il Spinning Co., Ltd. and further for the sake of large numbers of women workers under the influence of the textile workers' trade unions.

After meeting betrayal by the headquarters, we issued an appeal in which we demanded that we be permitted to speak for the workers. We said in the appeal, "How can you sell off so easily the rights the young women workers won at the risk of their lives? We have heard of the words "labor aristocrat" and have finally realized the meaning of the words through our experience."

Attaching importance to these words in the appeal, the textile union officials threatened to sue us for libel. Is this the right attitude they should take to us? Isn't this the reason why the 4 million workers of south Korea cannot but lament?

I wonder how they, who have never reflected upon their acts, can say they are not "labor aristocrats."

They disregard their own union members and neglect the latter's demands, in violation of Paragraph 3, Article 19 of the Trade Union Law which provides that a labor contract shall be approved by a general meeting or a meeting of delegates.

How can these executive members be qualified to collect union fees, while sitting in a swivel chair in a building?

We can endure no longer. We want to make our last efforts to declare that we, too, are human beings.

These days, headquarters officials are bribing executive members of the union to cause a division within the union. They now have the executives under their control.

They decide who should be the director and who should be department chiefs. They are threatening us, saying they will take our names from the list of union members on charges of libel, because we called them "labor aristocrats," if we do not follow the headquarters' decision.

Do you really think that we are mesmerized, who are determined to fight for the sake of our conscience and responsibility, in spite of the treatment severer than being thrown outside at 15-16 degrees centi-

grade below zero, until our problem is solved?

Do they say that we women should get married without doing trade union work?

Should we make clerks union members to raise the level of the union because the level of the consciousness of our trade union is low?

I just want to lead life worthy of a human being. Although I am poor and uneducated, I have learned what democracy means through participation in the activities of our trade union.

Is it wrong for me to have realized that one should be faithful to his conscience and should not yield to injustice and that one should fight it out?

Please judge for yourself if we are wrong or not and please give us your strong support.

NOTE

Dong-Il Spinning Co., Ltd.

Head Office: Naka-ku, Seoul **Mill:** Manchong-dong, Inchon
Capital: 1,500 million *won* **Production:** cotton yarn, mixed yarn, cotton fabrics

**25. “Open Letter to President Park Chung Hee”
(The 2nd Declaration of National Democratic Salvation)**

**March 1st, 1977
Seoul**

The following is a full text of the “Open Letter to President Park Chung Hee” dated March 1, 1977, written by former ROK President Yun Po Son and Quaker leader Hahm Suk Hon, asking him to resign to assume responsibility for the disastrous 16-year administration. The people who have signed this letter are not known except the two.

Today on this significant anniversary of the March First Independence Movement, we who are concerned about the future of our nation have decided to give some advice to Your Excellency in deep sincerity. When the military coup of May 16 (1961) occurred, you promised publicly to the people that the military which was supposed to remain behind the scene, had only risen up save the nation from a great crisis. However, you have oppressed the people for the last 16 years and carried out dictatorial rule. The result is that our fatherland today is not only still in crisis, but also its destiny is in a greater danger, now the people indeed not only have had to suppress their true feelings, but they have also had to suffer great pain and anger throughout. However, this state of affairs has reached its limits. If Your Excellency continues to hold on to power any longer, we do not know what kind of situation will arise, and when chaos will ensue throughout the land. We are delivering these words to you from our tearful and painful hearts.

16 Years of Failures

Your Excellency must realize that your 16 years’ rule has gone down as failure. You preached the re-construction of the nation, but she ended up with one-man dictatorship. You have called for modernization, but it

drove the people into material production and it revived only feudalistic social evil in our society. When high-rise buildings were going up, there blew the wind of rotten corruption in the street in the shadow of those buildings. While the statistical numbers increased, there rapidly increased also the number of prisons and prisoners. You have proclaimed the New Village Movement (Saemaul Movement) and encouraged the renewal of old feudalistic moralities. Isn't this because you know about the moral erosion in our society? But it is like curing the leaves without curing the roots of the tree. How can the sick tree be cured without curing the roots? You have imposed the Yushin Revitalization System and have said that the people are supporting you. Your factional power may have increased. However, the will of people was buried and hidden under the earth. This only quickens the disaster in the future. You are not considering the real support of the people. Instead, preservation of your power has become the sole foundation of your foreign policy. As the result, our nation is becoming despised inter-nationally. Our innocent people are forced to experience great shame in this world. How many times have you changed the Constitution! How many decrees and regulations have you proclaimed! But the result was the innocent sacrifice of innumerable students and workers. And there is no peace and safety in our society. Because of these conditions, there occurred the March First Declaration last year. But you not only refused to listen to the word which was coming out of true patriotic hearts and out of religious conscience, but also you have hidden all the facts from the people and deceived people with false propaganda that the Declaration was to agitate people to overthrow the government. With such criminal charges, you have tried to impose heavy sentences on those who were involved.

Nevertheless, you must know, the principle of justice and humanity is still alive, even though, it seems, our people in this nation have become blind and deaf and dumb. And thus the issue of Democracy and human rights in Korea has become an international concern throughout the world. While we are forced to remain completely uninformed domestically, the hidden political evils such as bribing US Congressmen, bribing the Japanese Dietmen during the Korea-Japan meetings and the kidnapping of Mr. Kim Dae-Jung have suddenly become exposed internationally. We have to conclude, therefore, that Heaven can not be ignorant and heartless of the situation. We thought, your honor ought to repent about these things. We never thought of these things as somebody else's business. We are not

captive of our private desires so as to feel good about the embarrassing situation of our government. Mistakes of yours are the very mistakes of ourselves. Your dishonor is our shame. The reason we are uttering these painful words is because we hope that your honor would be aware of the situation and lift all the oppressive policies in our land, release all the prisoners of conscience, comfort the people and transform our international relations with many nations in the world in order that the dignity of our nation may be restored and that our country as well as your honor can be blessed again. Nevertheless, you have ignored all our ardent appeals and advice, and you continue and even strengthen those policies. How could this be possible?

Your honor, under the present circumstances, there is no other way. There is only one. That is the way of honesty. Wrong policies must be admitted as wrong policies. And then the torn unity of will between yourself and the people can be reunited. These words are for your honor as well as for our nation.

Points Called for Repentance

It will take infinite time to enumerate every one of these things. But in order to remind you for your great repentance, we would like to point out a few important items, as follows:

1. Your honor has not been able to command love and respect from people. No matter how your underlings and your party members are loyal to you, that is not the same as love and respect from people. There must be a sense of unity between you and the nameless common people. Do you know the reason why our people do not like you? It is because you never want to approach people, never treat people with compassion. You never try to understand them. Has your honor ever tried to smile before the people? Have you ever mingled with people waving hands and shaking hands with people? Have you ever carried on a dialogue with people inquiring what their true aspirations are? Have you ever had such a humble and gentle mind and heart that the people could regard you as one of themselves. Even dictators of ancient times were with the people and shared together with people sometimes. How can you carry out good government and good rule while fearing the people, being afraid and suspicious of them and even despising them? True government is with people, it is not to drive the people according to one's own will.

2. You have never tried to understand our history deeply. Our people have not had an opportunity to develop normally for a long long time. They have suffered under turbulent political life and their spirit has been trampled. Therefore in order to create a new history with the people, their courageous struggle is absolutely required. That is the very meaning of new history. Nevertheless, you have never thought of renewing the vitality and spirit of people, but simply tried to shackle them and drive them. The reason there is such chaos, corruption and rampant distrust in this society is because people do not have ways to freely create their own future. One's own personal dignity and sense of pride about one's own nation are more important than abundant material wealth. There should be a new courageous thought from our people in order for our nation to create a new history. But you have plucked out the new buds of thoughts, instead of liberating them from old shackles and vitalising them for the future.

Because of this, your honor has failed in employing people in the government. Today, there are so many greedy and cunning people around you, but no one who has profound philosophy and a noble personality. Please reflect upon these things. Where are your original comrades today? Are they nearby you now? What has happened to those who have been loyal to you? Was there even one who can speak to you the truth frankly when a problem arises, even at the risk of his life. You are indeed very lonely. The government can not be run by one man. The true politician is one who knows how to use the people's wisdom and strength.

3. Your honor has not understood the great streams of world history. It is needless to say so in many words, but the international situation of our country at the present time indicates this clearly.

4. Finally your honor did not rightly understand religion. Humanity is a spiritual existence. It is never satisfied with material things alone. Your honor has underestimated human beings and therefore believed wrongly that human beings can be controlled by force alone. The methods your honor has employed to gain the hearts of people have been the very wrong notions of worshipping money and worshipping power, and you have underestimated the protest and the rising up of the religious conscience. You have believed that if you have money and power, then you can easily handle the criticism and protests of intellectuals and

religious people. This has led yourself and our country into a great tragedy. However, you must know these things very clearly. The reason why there is protest is not because there are protesters, but there is a cosmic truth among those people who are protesting. Is there any power in human history that has not perished under the protests of such people?

You Should Resign Taking Responsibilities

Today, Korea has become the focus of international opinion. This may not be solely due to your mistakes. This is not merely the failure of our people. It is because the self-authenticating conscience of mankind has arisen. It is also because there is an eternal principle that governs the evolution of cosmos. You should not handle these things lightly.

It is a blessing to correct one's own faults. The only way to correct one's own faults is by taking responsibilities personally. Your honor is in a position which represents the sovereignty of our people. Your honor has taken this particular position by force rather than being entrusted with it by the people. Therefore, you should not be hesitant to take the whole responsibility. We tried to recognize your righteous feeling at the time of the May 16 military coup. If your honor is fully concerned about the eternal future of our people and our country, then this is the time that you must resign from your post with great courage so that the people may execute their duty to change misfortune into blessing. If this happens, our country as well as yourself will come to the day when we rejoice together. If this does not take place, the cruel principle of history will judge us, and your honor and our country will have to face a great tragedy. We earnestly pray that such tragedy will not occur.

26. Declaration of Workers' Human Rights

The missionary council on March 10 issued a workers' human rights declaration at the 1,500-man rally held in a Seoul church.

Follows the full text of the declaration:

The human rights of workers are birthrights and important in the development of the society and the economy. Therefore the human rights of workers should be guaranteed legally. They are inalienable right. It is extremely deplorable that workers have been frequently aggrieved over inhumane sufferings caused by the infringement of their basic rights and the violation of the existing labor laws. It is a crime to remain indifferent to this situation. We, as free men, demand the free and equal relationship with the employers, by severing the anti-democratic and feudalistic relationship with the employers which force workers to unconditionally observe the labor time and the output arbitrarily decided by the employers, ignoring the intention of workers that offer the labor.

The workers must have the rights not only to associate for their own interests but also to negotiate with the employers. As occasion demands, they should have the rights to collectively reject the offer of their labor. The workers and believers, gathered at a Protestant-Catholic joint mass for the human rights of workers, issue the following "declaration of workers' human rights" for the future of the nation and the improvement of workers' social, economic status.

1. Ensure the rights to association, collective bargaining and collective action.

1. Immediately withdraw the "national security law," "law on special measures" and "emergency decrees."

1. The government should recognize autonomous negotiation between the employers and employees and entrust the rights to decide to the workers' own accord.

1. Reject the illegal and inhumane step of the management of forcing 12 or more hours of labor a day under the pretext of export,

ignoring an eight-hour labor a day.

1. Demand the strict enforcement of the labor time, a recess, weekly, monthly and yearly holidays and a woman's menstruation holiday as specified in the Labor Standards Law and denounce the employers and management who reject it.

1. Protest against the neglect of the labor agency authorities who leave at large those corporations transgressing the Labor Standards Law and subjecting workers to unnecessary sufferings.

1. Denounce some trade union leaders who cause damage to workers by aligning themselves with the employers and supporting on conniving at the illegal act of enterprises.

1. Denounce the employers for forcing unpaid labor upon workers under the name of the "new village movement" and lining their pocket.

1. The government should institute the minimum wages and ensure the living for those workers that are overworked for starvation wages.

1. Demand a prompt raise in law wages at once, regarding less than 30,000 won a month as starvation wages.

1. Denounce the employers who don't pay an overtime allowance, an allowance for the extra work, the night time, a retiring allowance, a bonus and accident allowance by reason of the temporary work and contract work.

1. Denounce the employers and management for forcing various kinds of menace and intimidation upon workers on the ground that they were connected with the religious groups.

1. Stop holding back the rights of the working people for the introduction of foreign capital. The regime should strictly watch the oppression by foreign capital-operated enterprises.

27. Charter for Democracy and National Salvation

The south Korean dissident leaders on March 22, 1977 demanded that all undemocratic systems and laws be abolished and democracy restored, issuing the “Charter for Democracy and National Salvation”. The charter was issued right after the supreme court sentenced opposition leader Kim Dae Jung, former President Yun Po Son and 16 other dissidents to prison terms ranging from one to five years in connection with the publication of the March 1 manifesto.

The charter was signed by: Yun Po Son; Ryang Il Dong, head of the opposition Democratic Unification Party; Catholic priests Yun Hyong Jung, Chi Hak Sun; Chong Gu Yong, a one-time leader of the ruling Democratic Republican Party; Chong Il Hyong, ranking member of the major opposition New Democratic Party; the Rev. Park Hyong Gyu; Quaker practitioner Hahm Sok Hon; former editor of the Dong-A Ilbo Chon Kwan Wu; and Cho Hwa Sun, chairwoman of the metropolitan and urban industrial missionary council.

Follows the full text of the charter:

Our statements and action are extremely circumscribed. Since November, 1976, surveillance has been spread throughout the nation. This was strengthened particularly in February and March this year. A large number of clergymen, democratic citizens of all strata were whisked away and detained by intelligence agencies and police. Rallies and statements for democracy are completely banned.

These are an expression of enthusiasm for democracy newly arising in the people. These also shows how merciless the suppression by the junta of our democratization struggles is.

Under these stifling circumstances, those citizens with who we could get in touch, signed their names. We hope this statement will be widely distributed among the democratic citizens and eagerly wish efforts will be made for its distribution.

1. The March 1 manifesto for democracy and national salvation and the January 23 declaration of Wonju are declarations by all the people. We are proud that we are with the democrats who took part in the publication of the manifesto and are now being tried by the court which suppresses the people's declarations.

The appeal to the supreme court by the dissidents who drew up the "March 1 manifesto for democracy and national salvation," is an appeal to a court of history and truth by the people dedicated to democracy.

2. The recent situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula — south Korea's failures in the maintenance of international good neighbourly relationships such as its opposition of pullout of the US army and the problem of human rights, payoff scandals — caused by the dictatorship and the infringement upon people's rights by the present "regime". The present "regime" must take responsibility for this situation.

We believe that the recovery and realization of democracy which will ensure a genuine unity of all the people are their historical mission to be fulfilled before pullout of the US army.

3. At this juncture, in order to take up the historical national challenge the present "regime" should put the following into practice: (1) abolition and declaration of the invalidity of the "revitalized constitution" and "emergency measures"; (2) complete recovery of human rights for all the political prisoners and abolition of undemocratic systems and laws; (3) a stop to oppressive measures such as torture and intelligence politics; (4) guarantee of freedom of the press, academic and religious freedom and the independence of judicature; (5) guarantee of the right to decent living of people including workers, farmers and fishermen; (6) elimination of irregularities and corruption and establishment of a just and open foreign policy.

4. We aspiring after the peace and common good of mankind, are firmly convinced that there are no national boundaries for people's rights and efforts for it.

The democratization of south Korea is a road not only to peace in the Korean Peninsula but to world peace.

Therefore, it is the legitimate right and obligation of all the people who love freedom and peace in the world, jointly and severally to cooperate with the south Korean people in their arduous efforts for democracy and human rights.

5. To fight for democracy, for the independence of the nation and for national reunification is the greatest task of all people today.

We appeal to all the people — workers, farmers, salaried men and women, public officials, intelligence agents, students, religionists, intellectuals, small merchants and industrialists — who have their pride as human being, their freedom and rights to decent living trampled underfoot, to make clear their attitude as democratic citizens, by giving full play to their best courage and creative talent and to affirm their enthusiasm for democracy as early as possible.

We promise through this statement to do our best to forge a democratic, national alliance on a nation-wide scale.

Long live democracy!

28. "The Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" of Seoul University Students (Summary)

Upwards of 600 students of Seoul University held an anti-"government" meeting on March 28 and strongly denounced and opposed the military fascist rule of the Park Chung Hee regime.

According to a foreign press report from Seoul, the students gathered in the afternoon at the Humanity and Sociology Hall in the compound of Seoul University situated in Kwanak district on the southern outskirts of Seoul, carrying the slogan "Restore the Student Council!" and loudly read "the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" after distributing hundreds of handbills printing the declaration.

Follows a summary of "the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" read by the students:

The revolutionary pulse of the hot-blooded fighters of April gave a solemn order to denounce the merciless reality at present and rectify it.

The basic rights of the nation are threatened by the despotism of dictatorship veiled with freedom and democracy internationally and the nation's sovereignty and independence are being reduced to a mere fiction externally.

On the campus, which should be the seat of freedom and truth, the independent activities of the students have shrunk and even speech has long been restricted by strict watch and repression of campus speech.

Many of our democratic-minded fellow students have not returned to the campus. They are now behind bars.

When argument on the human right in this land grew louder abroad, large bribes were paid to ranking officials of Japan and the United States for smothering the voice critical of south Korea.

We solemnly declare that we will not retreat a step in our action to restore our lost basic rights and right to existence and with new liberties and peaceful society.

1. Promptly disband the students homeland defence corps and repeal campus surveillance that obliterate campus freedom and rights!

2. Guarantee basic rights and the right to existence ensuring all the people a life worthy of humanity!

3. Immediately discontinue suppression of the press! Men of the press, rise in an allout action to regain your lost freedom of the press!

4. Immediately release the democratic personages and students under detention and return the students to the campus!

5. Promote the actual welfare of the people!

6. Eliminate the comprador forces which wallow in luxury, fattened on the privileges of foreign capital, taxation and finance!

7. Repeal emergency decree No. 9 at once!

8. Give up the humiliating diplomatic stance that crushes our national pride and pursue an independent foreign policy!

29. Letters to U.S. President and Japanese Prime Minister

Former South Korean President Yun Po Son sent letters to U.S. President Carter and to Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda, separate letters written in English, urging them to stop supporting the dictatorial Park regime. The former President said in his letter to Carter that Korea has long been treated simply as an instrument in the U.S.'s world policy and pointed out that oppression has flourished after the U.S. intervention in Korea.

In his letter to Fukuda, Yun criticized the Japanese Government for its filthy relations with the Park dictatorship.

Yun's letters stressed that the U.S. and Japanese have been the two main pillars aiding the Park regime in the "Yushin policy" in the name of "defense of the free world."

He demanded that the U.S. and Japan change their policy on Korea.

Yun Po Son is one of many defendants convicted or now being tried on charges of anti-Park activities.

Follow the full texts of the letters:

(1)Letter to President Carter

May 19th, 1977.

**President Jimmy Carter,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
USA.**

Mr. President:

May the blessings of God be with you and your people.

Since World War II the United States and Korea have had a special relationship and a close alliance. This relationship has been legitimized and justified in the name of “unity of the free world”. The United States, in order to keep Korea as a part of the “free world”, has deeply intervened in the political, economic, and military activities of Korea. However during this period, oppression rather than democracy has flourished in Korea. In particular, since October of 1972, Korea has rapidly degenerated into a thoroughly “oppressive world” which can no longer be called a part of the “free world”. Now, the facism which is based on totalitarianism and tyranny, has become the ideological bases of national politics.

Mr. Park Chung Hee, who received only 50 per cent of the popular vote in the Presidential Edection of April, 1971, through the use of guns, tanks and martial law, destroyed the Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, closed the campus and prohibited gatherings of any kind, as well as any kind of criticism. All this in the year-and-a-half following the election. By means of the Yushin constitution, which he himself had made, under the above mentioned conditions, he was unanimously elected President, with only two abstentions. Of the 2,359 possible votes, he received 2,357. The political power which has ruled Korea since 1973 did not receive its mandate from the people, but

imposed it through violence. The Yushin Constitution gives the President the power to implement “emergency decrees” — unlimited power which stands above the Constitution. Throughout the history of mankind, dictators have not had a more powerful tool: The National Security Law, which completely deprives the labourers’ of their right to collective bargaining and their right to collective action; the Social Security Law, which gives the administration the power to put dissentors into prison for life without a trial. As well as these laws which oppress human rights, including the laws and decrees mentioned above, complete control over the press, the judiciary, the National Assembly and the opposition party, is exercised by the administration; and surveillance and repression of the campus, the Church and the labour movement is undertaken by intelligence agencies. This shows that Korea is now made-up of those elements which all the “free world” has denied, that is, “no rights for the people” and “unlimited dictatorial power for one man”. We do not want to think that this is something the United States, which has undertaken absolute influence over Korea, expected from the beginning. However, it is regretful that we must point out that this is the result of the relationship between Korea and the United States — a relationship which has lasted more than 30 years.

Since World War II the United States, in opposition to the will of our nation, took the initiative in dividing the Korean Peninsula into two hostile political systems. This division sentenced us to a destiny in which we have continuously suffered from oppression of human rights and from dictatorships which have always spoken of the “threat of invasion by the enemy”. The logic of the cold war and the misleading view of the United States that anything which opposes the “communist devil” is alright, as in many places in the third world, has become one of the major reasons for corrupt, dictatorial military regimes, such as that of Mr. Park Chung Hee in Korea.

The fact that pro-Japanese bureaucrats, military officials, and businessmen were able to gain power under the American Military Administration, significantly shows that the United States has, directly or indirectly, supported the military, the bureaucrats, and the big businessmen who opposed social change and pursued social privileges as a counter-measure to the threat of communism. So much aid from the United States, including food aid under PL 480, has supported the

limping Korean economic structure which is based on the low price of rice and low wages — a practice which has continued for more than 30 years. Nobody can deny that this contributed to the consolidation of the privileged ruling class. The American investors, as well as the Japanese investors, have taken advantage of the low wages here in Korea and have enjoyed the benefits of a “favorable investment climate” which the Park regime offers. The fact that Gulf Oil Corporation offered millions of dollars as a political contribution to Mr. Park in 1971, when he was elected by only a small margin, implies many things to us in understanding the relationship between American investors and the repressive rule of Korea.

Due to technical support and cooperation by the United States, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was able to gain competence at political investigations. The equipment, technique, and skill at quelling riots which are offered by the United States, have been very effectively used for the repression of peaceful demonstrations by the Korean people. During their attendance at university, a great number of our young people have shed tears due to the use of US-made tear gas and pepper fog. Because of the Korea-Japan treaty, which the United States strongly pushed, the Korean economy was rapidly driven into a state of dependency on the Japanese. “Black adhesion” between the ruling classes of both Korea and Japan, which was established as the result of this situation, played a decisive role in the strengthening of the Park regime. The United States pulled the youth of Korea into the Vietnam War and Mr. Park was thus able to push through revision of the Constitution, in 1969, which enabled him to run for a third term in office, and the Yushin coup d’etat in 1972, without any hesitation. We must point out the fact that the tanks which advanced and remained in front of the National Assembly, resulting in the dissolution of the National Assembly in October of 1972, were made in the United States.

However, we do not intend to say that such dark aspects as there tell the whole story of the relationship between Korea and the United States. We are well aware of the fact that it is at least the outward stand of the United States to support and to encourage the development of the democratic system in Korea. The Constitution which was established in 1948 with the support of the American Military Administration, was the first in Korean history to be based on parliamentary democratic

principles. Most Koreans believe that in 1963 President Kennedy encouraged Mr. Park Chung Hee to return to civilian rule by threatening to stop all aid to Korea. However, in spite of this, the belief that the United States supports democracy in Korea is rapidly collapsing, especially in recent years. In 1973, just after the establishment of the Yushin System, President Nixon warmly greeted Mr. Kim Jong Pil, who was Premier at that time, at the White House. At that time, Mr. Nixon made known his policy of “non-intervention”, and he thus encouraged the Park regime and supported the Yushin Constitution. Since then the platitude “non-intervention” has become the stand of the United States Administration, which shows silent support of the undemocratic, oppressive system in Korea. How can the United States, which has so deeply intervened in the internal politics of Korea, now use “non-intervention” as an excuse to avoid criticizing the dictatorship which the United States has supported. Since the establishment of the Yushin System, many Americans, including the United States President, high officials, and elected representatives, have come to Korea, and have praised “the economic development of Korea” and “the great leadership” of President Park; and have supported the Yushin System. What else is the principle of non-intervention beyond the illicit connection between the rulers of the world towards the oppression of the people of the world, if praising and supporting a foreign ruler whom most people oppose, is not called intervention, while criticizing is called intervention?

In other words, it is the Korean people themselves who are really refusing to allow interference from outside and so that they might determine their own destiny. However, we doubt that (if the policy of the United States towards this government played a basic role in the political, economic, and military support to the repressive system of Korea,) then this can be seen as practical and concrete intervention which contradicts the “principle of non-intervention” that the United States always outwardly supports. This intervention was aimed at the establishment and support of an oppressive system and it has realized its purpose. In fact, we are now at the point of re-establishing a practical concept of intervention and a concrete concept of “non-intervention” from a new perspective. We had hoped that your human rights policy might contribute to the establishment of truly friendly relations between the peoples of both Korea and the United States, cleansing the dark

history of Korean-American relations. We want you to frankly admit the fact that many people in the world which are under the influence of the United States, including Korea, have suffered from dictatorships and the oppression of human rights as payment for the interest and security of the United States and thus we want your human rights policy to become established on the basis of accepting moral responsibility for positive contributions in solving this tragedy. If this does not happen, the world might doubt and misunderstand your intentions regarding your human rights policy. We hope that your policy related to Korea will be established by your doing your best to push peace and unification, and to promote democracy and human rights in the Korean Peninsula recognizing that the Korean people should no longer be forced to accept facism, which always outwardly talks about the "communist threat".

We of course admit that it might be too early to evaluate your human rights policy and your policy regarding Korea — related to the human rights problem — however the process of the human rights policy up till now has made us have some doubts regarding your policy.

On several occasions you have openly criticized the oppression of human rights in both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and related to certain intellectuals of the Soviet Union, you even invited them to the White House or sent them letters. On the other hand, though your critical voice towards the oppression of human rights in third world countries, which have received aid as allies of the United States was relatively speaking far weaker. Yet the oppression of human rights, for which the United States carries heavy responsibility, could be substantially improved, in accordance with the efforts of the United States in countries such as Korea, the Philippines, Iran, Chile and so forth.

Your State Department is emphasizing "special treatment" toward the human rights problem of Korea and the Philippines, both of which are related to American security interests, and the Administration is pursuing a more reinforced support of the Park regime. In spite of the commitment which you expressed in your campaign speeches, the Pentagon is still speaking about the possible use of atomic weapons in the Korean Peninsula — which might completely destroy the Korean

people — and your embassy here in Korea is emphasizing “silent diplomacy”. On the American policy regarding Korea, which does not show much sign of change from the Ford Administration, at least on the surface, the Park regime feels completely secure and continues its suppression of human rights.

International relations and national interests are limited, and the freedom of mankind and human rights are limitless. In the relationship between Korea and the United States, the Korean people have, for a long time, been treated simply as objects, means, and instruments in the carrying out of the world policy for America’s own “national interest”. Through such signs as the exceptional treatment in the human rights problems and the reinforced and unconditional support of Park’s regime as repayment for the withdrawal of the United States troops, the Korean people have become concerned about whether they might again be sacrificed for the egotistical national interests of the United States — which have been newly evaluated under your administration. We hope that our concerns have no basis and we wish you to erase our concerns through positive action as soon as possible.

We hope that you will properly evaluate the desire of most of the Korean people who besides rejecting a leftist dictatorship, also reject a rightist dictatorship, that is the Yushin System, and who want to live in a peaceful, unified and democratic fatherland, and thus we believe that you should carry out a fundamentally new policy which does not ignore our desires. We hope that you will openly and clearly express your stand in opposing the oppression of human rights and the Yushin System here in Korea in a louder voice than when you criticized the oppression of human rights in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia. Through this your human rights policy will be seen as not merely a tactic in establishing a new order of a great power by stirring-up Eastern Europe, nor as a deceitful policy which is motivated by egotistic national interest of the United States in order to avoid its responsibility for the oppression of human rights in the third world by paying only lip service. We hope that your human rights policy will demonstrate that it arises from a pure and humble concern for the love of mankind and that it is the voice of a new American spirit which supports the spirit of freedom — a freedom which is growing among the people of the world.

I hope that you will give careful consideration to the content of this letter, and that God might guide you as you make important decisions about our country.

I hope that I will hear from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

(Mr.) Yun Po Son
Former President

(2) Letter to Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan

June 27th, 1977.

**Mr. Fukuda Takeo,
Prime Minister of Japan,
Tokyo, Japan.**

Mr. Prime Minister:

In recent years the Korean people have deeply suffered under an extremely bitter form of facism called the “Yushin System”. The two major pillars which support the Park Regime, and thus the Yushin System, in order “to keep the free world”, are without question, the United States and Japan. In the United States policy towards Korea there has recently appeared a change. Since the establishment of the Yushin System each successive American Administration has expressed its “regret” over the repression of human rights by the Park Regime. This kind of attitude by the American Government shows a distinct contrast with the policy of continuous support of the Park Regime, without criticism or conditions, by your Liberal Democratic Party — which always speaks of “keeping a free society”.

When we observe the process of the relationship between Korea and Japan since 1965 when the “normalization” of Korea-Japan relations came about, we regretfully cannot help doubting that the Liberal Democratic Party’s policy towards Korea was manipulated by the industrial-military alliance — which pursues an economic policy of expansion abroad and rearmament at home, and by the corrupt power of the extreme right — which speaks for the industrial-military alliance. This policy ignored the opinion of the majority of your people, who eagerly seek peace, democracy, and a welfare economy. When we think of the past track and the present political stand of the people who handled Korean-Japan relations, both on the surface and in the background, while making “black adhesions” with the Park Regime, this doubt becomes greater. The basic goal they have pursued through the adhesions with the Park Regime is, as illustrated by the so-called

“Yatsuki Tentative Plan” and the so-called “Mitsuya Plan of Operation”, to again incorporate Korea into the economic and political power block of Japan. This would make Korea a new base for expansion abroad, just like under Japanese Imperialism when Korea was used as the base for advancing into the mainland. This process would strengthen the extreme rightists in Japan.

The fact that the dictatorial regime of Mr. Park Chung Hee, who thoroughly represses all nationalistic and democratic criticism, exists, might be called a great fortune in light of the desire of the Japanese to achieve the above mentioned. The Park Regime has continued to support low wages, which are less than one-quarter of that of Japan, and using it to subordinate the Korean economy to the Japanese economy in the form of a sub-contract. The Korean economy has already come to depend upon Japan for more than thirty percent of its trade, approximately thirty percent of the foreign debt, approximately seventy percent of technical aid, and about seventy percent of direct foreign investment. The Korean economy is, in fact, incorporated into the Japanese economic block. For instance, if the loans from Japan are stopped, the Korean economy would have a negative growth rate. In addition, Japan has in fact, consolidated the basis for military control over Korea through the frequent exchange of Korean and Japanese military personnel. Almost all of the highest-ranking officials of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces have come to Korea to observe in detail the Korean military set-up. What is worse is that the adherence to the division of the Korean peninsula, which the Park Regime pursues as a convenient instrument to maintain the dictatorship, that is, the continuance of confrontation, tension, and hostility between the south and the north, becomes the essential condition and a decisive benefit to the development of the newly growing industrial-military alliance of your country.

Even though everything about the Park Regime, which is the origin of indescribable suffering, misfortune, and shame of the Korean people, is of benefit to your industrial-military alliance and to the corrupt extreme rightists, we can never believe that it is at the same time of benefit to the majority of the people of your country. On the contrary, it can only be a great hindrance that interrupts your people's desire for peace, democracy, and a welfare economy. What does it mean that your government, which

should speak for all the people of Japan, has both obviously and consistently pursued the status quo in the Korean peninsula — that is, the continuance of facism and the permanent eternalization of the division between the south and the north? Your government might believe that it can gain a great deal because of its support of the Park Regime over the past 15 years. However, your government should at the same time clearly recognize the fact that you are losing something more important — the hearts of the people of both Korea and Japan. The stepping down of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan could never be considered an accidental phenomenon. We believe that it is not unrelated to an erroneous Korea policy — line by the Liberal Democratic Party — a policy which is based on black adhesion with the Park Dictatorial Regime. However, I do not intend to dwell upon domestic matters of your country. What I wish to call your attention to is the fact that in our people's mind there is rapidly arising, especially in the minds of the young, a feeling of deep antagonism towards Japan. You should keep in mind the fact that the future of Korea is not in the hands of the Park Regime, but ultimately in the hands of these young people.

For the past 50 years Japan has interfered with and distorted the development of our national history. The Japanese government has aligned itself with the prolonging of the tragedy of the south-north division which is the source of all suffering in modern Korean history. You are probably unable to imagine how great is our people's grudge and resentment when faced with the fact that the Japanese government, is today again aligning itself with the Yushin System so that it is interfering with our people's way to direct democracy, autonomy, peace and unification. However, if you are truly and sincerely concerned about the future of Japan and Korea-Japan relations, you should make an effort to understand this situation.

It seems to me that there is no reason for the peoples of our two nations to confront one another in hostility. I firmly believe that these two peoples have a common desire for real and true freedom, justice, peace, and humane life — opposing all forms of repression. As neighbours who live in the same era and moreover who are separated by just a narrow strait, our two peoples should be able to have feelings of solidarity, friendship, and cooperation in pursuing such democratic values and ideas as we commonly have. I believe that Korea-Japan relations will come into

a true path only when the relations stand firmly on this base.

Due to the changes of various international situations surrounding North-East Asia, including the establishment of the new plan for the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea, Korea-Japan relations are coming into a new and extremely serious period. At this important juncture I believe that you should make a decision to fundamentally clean-up the Korea policy of your government which up till now has been misguided in part by the corrupt extreme rightists, and to immediately begin efforts to return Korea-Japan relations to the proper path. As a start, I urge your government to examine closely, to clear-up and to sever any shady relations with the Park Regime, and you should make clear your critical attitude towards the Yushin System. In addition I hope you will express your deep concern and solidarity with the Korean people who are struggling for democracy and who are suffering on behalf of the Japanese people and thus sincerely reflect your concern over the Korea-related policy.

I of course do not deny that these kinds of decisions will be accompanied by "labour pains" by both Korea and Japan. Nevertheless only by overcoming the impending small interests and slothfulness and taking a long-range view, will Korea-Japan relations be able to avoid a breakdown in the future and only in this way will both peoples be able to advance peace, freedom and democracy together.

I hope that you will be able to reach a wise decision, and I sincerely request that you not make an erroneous judgement.

May God be with you.

Yours sincerely,

(Mr.) Yun Po Son
Former President
Republic of Korea

**30. Testimony of Kim Hyung Wook,
Former Director of the Korean Central
Intelligence Agency**

**Before the U.S. House Subcommittee
on International Organizations,
June 22, 1977**

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Committee, I would like to express my deep appreciation for inviting me to the United States Congress to speak to this distinguished body and for providing me with the opportunity to express my ideas and to present testimony to this subcommittee which has a tradition of supporting human rights and exercising important moral influences on the formation of American foreign policy.

Decision to Break Silence

At the very outset I want to make explicitly clear that personally I have neither ambition nor intention to run for political office in Korea. My sole interest is to do whatever I can as a private Korean citizen residing in the U.S. to help restore freedom and democratic government in Korea.

I should like to point out that I stand before this committee with great ambivalence and I hope that my actions will help improve upon the unfortunate state of affairs currently impeding amicable Korean-American relations. I feel extremely sorrowful and ashamed that there is a need for me to step forward at this moment in time.

First of all, I am very sad that my country has become the target of international public disapproval, particularly because of the violation of its own citizens' basic human rights, as well as such actions as giving cash payments and parties, bestowing of honorary degrees and other questionable and improper activities.

As a result of these actions, our national prestige has dropped sharply and is currently at a low level throughout the world. It hurts me deeply that a former top official of the Korean Government like myself must stand here before the U.S. Congress and this prestigious committee to testify about my country's wrongdoings and misdeeds. Thus I feel much grief and sorrow. I feel this is a great national tragedy for Korea.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members, if you can imagine for a moment a former American CIA Director or even yourselves standing to testify about American wrongdoing before another country's national assembly, then you might be able to empathize with my situation. I repeat, I feel great sadness.

On the other hand, I feel as if I am beginning a new life. I stand here with the strong conviction that I will devote myself to a new historic mission.

As you already know, the human rights of many citizens are being violated in my country. A limitless dictatorship, the essence of which is absolute violence, absolute self-righteousness and absolute control, obstructs the true unity of the people. Furthermore, the Korean people face an even graver crisis. The proposed American military withdrawal is more than the individual problem of a few people. My people and their historical survival are gravely endangered.

With this understanding I have made up my mind to break my silence since April, 1973. I believe that breaking my silence is the only way for me to serve and to save my country at this point in time. It is my hope that my testimony will be the beginning of my new life and will also act as a signal of my involvement in the movement for the restoration of freedom, democracy and justice in Korea, for which many patriotic, freedom loving people are fighting both in Korea and all over the world.

Let me make one point very clear: I am not a Korean-American. I am a Korean citizen who views Korea as my fatherland and my sons and daughters' fatherland; therefore if there is any conflict between the Korean national interest and the American national interest, naturally I will support the Korean national interest. However, my basic interest in testifying today is to explain to you the way in which the Korean and

American national interests coincide and can improve within the bounds of the current Korean-American relationship.

My Brief Autobiography

At this juncture I will provide you with a brief autobiographical sketch indicating some of the events and high points of my career which were instrumental in shaping my beliefs and political orientations.

I was born on January 16, 1925, in Sinchon, which is located in Hwanghae Province, which is now in North Korea. After World War II, Soviet troops entered my native province and proceeded to initiate and institute extremely repressive policies. As a result of this oppression, I escaped from Hwanghae Province and fled for my freedom to the southern part of the Korean peninsula in 1946. Shortly after I reached South Korea I entered the Korean Military Academy, where I was a member of the famous Eighth Class.

Following my graduation and my commission as a lieutenant in the Korean Army, I was assigned to the famous Sodo Division, which was in charge of guarding the 38th Parallel line just prior to the outbreak of the Korean war.

From June 25, 1950, until 1953 when the military armistice was signed, I served in the capacities of company commander and battalion commander in the Sodo Division. After the armistice I attended the U.S. Military Infantry School located at Ft. Benning, Georgia, in 1955. After that I studied at the Korean Army College. At the time of the 1961 coup I was in charge of planning and programming for the Korean Army on the Staff of Operations at the Korean Army Headquarters.

On May 16, 1961, I agreed with the then Major General Park Chung Hee that because the civilian government of Mr. Chang Myon was very weak and lacked the ability to govern social disorder and the consequent dissolution of the structure of the state was impending, I was in complete agreement with Major General Park that we could no longer remain active or sit idly at this particular juncture in time. Therefore I participated in the so-called May Revolution as one of the core members of the military coup.

I recognize that there are two competing evaluations among political scientists about the historical inevitability of the 1961 military coup and about the ideal of the revolutionary elite which was the firm hope of constructing a strong anti-Communist, democratic state. However, I still believe that the ideal and the blueprint of the revolutionary group was correct and that the revolution was inevitable.

After the revolution I was appointed to the position of head of interior affairs of the military junta. I was also placed in charge of managing the general affairs of the junta.

As the head of the interior affairs, my primary responsibility was in the realm of intelligence. In march, 1963, I was appointed Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, KCIA. From that time until October, 1969, for more than six and a half years, I was the director of the agency.

I acknowledge that I had extremely extensive powers at my disposal, more power than you can imagine, covering virtually every aspect of my country. My power extended into political, economic, cultural, religious and even foreign propaganda activities.

From May, 1971, until October, 1972, I was a national assemblyman. After October, 1972, when President Park announced his illegal emergency decree, otherwise known as the Yushin Revitalizing Reforms, the pressures of remaining in Korea became too great for me. On April 15, 1973, I left Korea and I am now living quietly in the United States.

In the realms of anti-Communist operations and national security affairs, I was the #1 target for assassination by the North Korean Communists, but I perceive myself as an individual devoted to human feelings and moral obligations. Also, I am strongly anti-Communist and believe in liberal democracy. I am determined to prove the above assertions through my future actions.

Major Policies of Park Chung Hee 1961 – 1972 and My Role

Since 1973 when I arrived here in the U.S. and for the past four years it has been a period of great contradiction and suffering for me.

But now I understand that my loyalty to history and to my nation are more important than my loyalty to President Park, a single individual. I can now accept the fact that I might betray the trust of a particular individual, Mr. Park, but I can no longer stand by and betray history and my nation. In order to explain why I broke with Mr. Park's regime, let me briefly summarize the main policies of the South Korean Government from 1961 to 1972, and their influence on Korean-American relations.

Major policies of the South Korean Government, 1961–1972—speaking from the perspective of a former intelligence expert, there was no real crisis for President Park's regime between 1961 and 1969. There were a couple of minor crises during that time period though.

The first of these minor crises was the outgrowth of the talks to normalize relations with Japan in 1965. As the Director of the KCIA at the time, I believed that it was imperative for Korea to establish normal relations with Japan. Even though there was much tension between the two nations and there was still much hostility toward Japan, I felt that it was essential for Korea to normalize relations with Japan in order to get Japanese economic support and assistance and also to add a further defense against a Communist attack by forming a strong bond between the two countries.

At the time there was great disorder as student demonstrations attacked the so-called Kim-Ohira secret memorandum and in the National Assembly Representative Kim Jun Yon raised the question of a \$200 million secret fund.

As the police ruthlessly put the demonstrators down, my initial response was to force them to reduce their cruel repression against the student groups. On the other hand, though, I sued the student demonstrations as leverage in the normalization talks with Japan.

With regard to student demonstrations, it is my understanding that students have both the right and the responsibility to express themselves on behalf of the nation as long as they do not aim to pull down the basic system of the nation. I truly believe that the students of Korea are our nation's flower and represent our nation's future leaders. As long as

I was the Director of the KCIA no students were ousted from their campuses or put into jail for demonstrating once or twice. I believe that in a developing nation the students and the military are the two strong groups which can be mobilized to collective action and which can represent ideas.

Developing societies like Korea should heed the liberal students' concerns more than those of the conservative military. I believe that the spirit of the student groups will be the motivating power of our nation's future. I still feel that in dealing with social problems the Korean students are more patriotic representatives of our society than the students of more developed countries.

Because of my attitudes toward the Korean students and the nationalistic student demonstrations, one of the Korean promoters of the negotiations questioned me concerning this matter. He asked, "Why do you support the students? Tell me why. Do you want me to fall into trouble with the students?" In the end, Mr. Kim Jong Pil tactfully went abroad and the critical moment for the negotiations passed.

The second major crisis occurred in 1967. This international controversy was the product of the so-called East Berlin Espionage Affair. I became the target of this controversy. However, then I consider the impact of this event on the nation, I cannot ignore its importance.

In the East Berlin case from 1958 on, Korean students studying in Europe, primarily in West Germany, and various long-term Korean residents of European countries, came and went to Pyongyang via Moscow. There they received espionage training and organized operations to Communize South Korea.

Two hundred or so people, including well-known politicians, professors, artists, students, doctors, civil servants, media people, religious leaders and even a female secretary from the Blue House were involved. Among them, 70 were prosecuted under the National Security Law and the Anti-Communist Law.

I am aware that there is domestic and international controversy about this affair but I blocked North Korea's strong ambition to unify

Korea under Communism on the basis of my strongly anti-Communist beliefs. My conduct during this crisis has been cited as one of the most remarkable achievements in the realm of anti-Communist operations within Korea.

In dealing with the affair, Mr. Chong Kyu Park, who was then President Park's Security Chief, threatened me. My arrest of the Secretary of the Blue House, Mr. Chong Kyu Park's secretary, led to the altercation. She was a suspect in the East Berlin Espionage Affair. Shortly after her arrest Mr. Chong Kyu Park aimed his pistol at my forehead and demanded that I release her immediately. I refused to accede to his demand.

As a result of this affair, the espionage case involving DRP Assemblyman Kim Kyu Nam, the case of the Unification Revolutionary Party, et cetera, I virtually destroyed North Korean espionage plots. The ramifications in North Korea were quite significant. Both Mr. Hyo-Soon Lee, the head for South Korean Operations, and General Bong-Hak Huh were removed from positions of power.

Another crisis arose in 1969 over the domestic issue of constitutional revision. The result of this controversy was that President Park was allowed to seek office for a third term. It is a well known fact that Mr. Chong Pil Kim opposed President Park on the constitutional revision issue. Few Koreans at the time, though, were aware of the fact that at its inception the original draft for the constitutional revision mandated a term in office to last until reunification of Korea.

I strongly opposed the original draft; I was particularly concerned with the tenure provision. Largely as the result of my strong opposition, President Park and the leaders of his ruling party modified their demand to a provision calling for a six-year third term in office.

President Park seemed particularly determined to insist on this six-year third term.

I mobilized the mass media and public opinion and suggested that they write or publish articles in support of a four-year alternative rather than the six-year term suggested by President Park.

It was my belief that President Park could best serve Korea by not running for a third term and by stepping down or retiring from office, but in reality such an idea was almost inconceivable at that time.

My role in the constitutional revision controversy was that of a conciliator. I attempted to work out and to broach a reconciliation between the pro-revision group and the opposition group. I hoped to minimize the personal tragedies and great sacrifices which might occur from an intensely contested debate. I honestly did not think that one more four-year term for President Park would result in the dictatorial transformation of my country if the measure were properly passed in the National Assembly and approved by the people.

But the bill for a constitutional revision was passed in the National Assembly in the middle of the night without the participation or the presence of the opposition party law-makers. As a powerful member of the ruling party, I felt deep moral responsibility to the Korean people and to Korean history; but I felt that my capacities were limited and that my efforts had gone in vain.

I want to say that I never detained or tortured any opposition politician who opposed President Park's constitutional revision scheme. As expected, President Park fired me immediately after the constitutional revision was passed. As I was no longer part of the government, I returned to life as a private citizen.

Even Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the opposition party presidential candidate in the 1971 election, was very much aware of my operation and reconciliation effort. Thus when he was forcibly detained and tried in 1975, Mr. Kim requested that I be one of his witnesses. Although I received a subpoena from the Korean court, I had no thought of returning to Korea to testify. During this time a KCIA agent visited me here in the United States and advised me that it would be better not to go.

The establishment of Mr. Park's dictatorship in 1972 — on October 17, 1972, President Park announced his unconstitutional and illegal national emergency decree, on the pretext of the need to establish national solidarity. He dissolved the National Assembly, limited freedom

of political activity and completely controlled the media.

In the name of The Revitalization of the People, President Park strongly argued that this policy was a preliminary step for a national reunification with the North; however, this was no more than a sham; it was no more than a fulfilling in 1972, three years before his term was to end, of his desire for prolonged power which he had failed to achieve in the 1969 third-term amendment campaign.

Particularly relevant was Kim Dae Jung's surprising popularity in the 1971 Presidential election when he got 46 percent of the popular votes. As a result, Mr. Park was in a hurry to institute a system to prolong his power. Immediately following the emergency decree proclamation, President Park arrested about 15 National Assemblymen of the opposition party who had strongly criticized the decree. These men were subjected to very intensive interrogation and torture.

Finally under fabricated charges, these men were imprisoned. As a member of the Democratic Republican regime I felt deeply sad and responsible. I was able to learn the details of the torture of these opposition assemblymen from my former KCIA subordinates and even they said President Park was going too far. These tortures and imprisonments mark the beginning of a new period of cruelty and insensitivity in Korean politics. It is my contention and my belief that the ideals and the spirit of the 1961 military revolution have been completely defeated.

The October 1972 national referendum took place without the participation of the opposition party and in an atmosphere which prohibited the free expression of dissent and opposition. More than 98 percent of the Korean people who voted supported one of the most dictatorial and non-democratic constitutions ever written. Under the new constitution Mr. Park was elected President of Korea for a life term by the National Conference for Unification of which he had appointed himself Chairman.

Following the October 1972 national referendum, the National Assembly election witnessed full-scale election fraud and government manipulation. Resulting from the emergency decree the National

Assembly had extremely limited functions. President Park had already manipulated the National Assembly election, but he still was not confident. Therefore he handpicked one-third of the national assemblymen by himself. After witnessing this tragic series of events in Korean history, I firmly believe that Mr. Park no longer holds the ideals and the aspirations of the military revolution, rather he has become fanatical in his quest for lifelong dictatorship.

I feel moral responsibility because of my mistake in judgment when, 11 years before Yushin, believing Park Chung Hee was a leader who would save the people, I devoted my life to the revolution and because I had participated in almost everything with him since 1961. Because of my feeling of guilt I can no longer raise my head before the people and history. As a result of my position, I have been pressured in the following ways:

1. Those who were recognized as my followers and supporters were effectively eliminated from government;
2. Those businessmen who were close to me were severely taxed and many of their businesses were either destroyed or confiscated by the government;
3. Those politicians who were close to me were excluded from nomination for the National Assembly;
4. My activities and actions were constantly under KCIA surveillance. There were also constant attempts to discover shortcomings during my time as Director of the KCIA in preparation for arresting me.
5. My security men who had long guarded me against the danger of assassination from North Korea were disarmed.

I realized that I was in grave danger. From a number of reliable information sources I was alerted to the fact that my life and that of my family was in peril and danger was imminent. It was at this moment that I made up my mind to leave Korea. All I needed was a chance or an excuse to leave the country. Fortunately it was suggested that I might accept an honorary degree from the Chinese Academy (i.e., the Academy of the Republic of China) located in Taiwan. In April 1973, I left Korea to receive this honorary degree. From Taiwan I came to the United States and began living in self-imposed exile.

Some Alarming Events. After the establishment of his distatorship, Mr. Park's repressive policies rapidly escalated. Politicians, religious leaders, intellectuals, and students who opposed the Yushin system were treated as traitors to the state and people, and imprisoned. Mr. Park's policies have led Korean society into an era of endless darkness. Now the only freedom which Koreans have is to give undivided support for President Park.

Mr. Park imposed severe pressures and sanctions on businessmen who did not give him their undivided loyalty. In many cases, charges were fabricated and these individuals were sent to jail. In addition to imprisonment, the businesses of these individuals were often confiscated. Some of the business companies that were destroyed or taken over were Yunhap Steel Company, Sinjin Automobile Company, Chungang Industries and Builders, Tongkwang Business, Koryo Deep Sea Fishing Company, Koryo Shipbuilding Company, Kwang Myong Printing Company, Koryo Food Co., Kyungnam Business Company, Tachan Transportaiton Co., and the Cheju Bank. The Cheju Bank's major stockholders were Korean immigrants living in Japan.

The two forces that President Park was most afraid of were Mr. Kim Dae Jung, who was the opposition Presidential candidate in the 1971 presidential election and the American Congress, which has considerable leverage and influence on the conduct of American foreign relations toward Korea. Mr. Park attempted to resolve the Kim Dae Jung problem, i.e., the elimination of his principal and final political rival, through the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping. In the case of the U.S. Congress, Mr. Park attempted to gain leverage and influence through the "Tongsun Park bribery operation."

The Kim Dae Jung Kidnapping

First, President Park is more aware than any other individual in Korea of the strength and popularity of Mr. Kim Dae Jung with the Korean people. Had there been no election fraud and systematic interference with the electoral process in 1971, there is an excellent chance that Mr. Kim would have been elected the President of Korea.

But aside from this phenomenon, it is important to point out that

President Park's feelings toward Kim Dae Jung go beyond the usual rivalry which is a natural outgrowth of electoral competition. Mr. Park's feeling toward Mr. Kim approaches hatred based on a deep inferiority complex. For example, it is customary in democracies that following an election, the winner should be both gracious and generous to the loser. Mr. Park completely ignored this basic principle of election etiquette, and in order to get rid of Mr. Kim following the election, Mr. Park indicted him on trumped-up charges of violating the election laws.

Furthermore, in August 1973, he did not hesitate to carry out the unconscionable, tyrannical action of kidnapping Kim Dae Jung from the capital of a foreign country (i.e., Tokyo, Japan), and throwing him in prison in Korea. The commander of the kidnapping operation was Mr. Lee Hu Rak, the KCIA Director. Also, I should like to point out that I have a list of the names of the agents who participated in this operation. I do not have proof that President Park directly led this operation, but I do not think such an important plan could be carried out without his permission.

The Tongsun Park Affair

President Park, while establishing a strong dictatorial system, was apprehensive about the United States' reaction. He knew that the opposition of the U.S. government and U.S. Congress would have great influence on his dictatorial actions. To prevent this opposition, the well-known Tongsun Park scandal was undertaken. While I was Director of the KCIA, Tongsun Park was definitely not an employee on the payroll of the KCIA but he offered me his cooperation and I intend later to explain the facts of how I assisted him in various matters.

The Unification Church and the Reverend Sun Myung Moon

Third, I would like to say something about the Unification Church. Prior to 1970 Reverend Sun Myung Moon was little known in Korea. Up until 1970 the mainstream of Korean Christianity was somewhat anti-government in its nature. Thus the government had no reason to dislike a religious sect that supported it. We were not concerned with issues such as the size of the congregation or the content of their theology.

Also, our evaluation of the Unification Church was very limited. We knew that Reverend Moon was isolated from Korean intellectual circles and there were even assertions in Korea that he was a phony evangelist. Reverend Moon was claiming that he was the second Jesus Christ.

One of the enigmas to me that remains as yet unsolved about the Unification Church is how this church, which has received little recognition in Korea, could mobilize allegedly thousands of young Americans.

However, Bo Hi Pak, who I did not know was connected with the Unification Church, came to me with Ambassador Yang Yoo-Chan and proposed to establish "Radio of Free Asia" at Kimpo in the suburbs of Seoul and broadcast to Communist China and North Korea in a similar fashion to Voice of America. At that time the national budget was tight and I encouraged them by saying how wonderful it was for them to broadcast the voice of freedom to communist countries. I helped them thinking they were doing good work.

My View of the Present Status of Korean-U.S. Relations

As was mentioned earlier, as a result of the October Restoration, the controversial human rights violations, Kim Dae Jung's kidnapping, the Tongsun Park bribery scandal, and the controversial rise of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church, Korea has become a target of international criticism and moral condemnation. As a result the traditional, mutual friendship between Korea and America which began almost 100 years ago has fallen to a low ebb. This development gives me much grief. I feel great regret that so many American citizens who had a very amicable understanding and identification with Korea and who have offered their assistance to Korea, were shocked by the disclosures of misconduct. Lastly, it is with considerable regret that many of Korea's American friends no longer feel they should support the Korean people with either their money or their blood. I feel very sad that this appears to have become the mainstream of American public opinion.

I believe that you all know that strategically Korea is the point of

decisive significance in the balance of power in North East Asia. The Korean peninsula touch the boundaries of communist China and Russia and faces Japan across the sea. It is the only place in the world where the so-called four great powers—the U.S., Japan, China and Russia—all have important interests.

Although I am in basic agreement with President Carter's concern for human rights, I do not agree with his proposals to withdraw American troops from Korea. I believe that President Carter's decision to withdraw troops from Korea is a manifestation of the American public's hatred of President Park's rule which has resulted from its movement toward dictatorship which I have discussed above.

Finally, in my judgment the proposal to withdraw American troops was greatly influenced by the disclosure of the Tongsun Park bribery scandal. The series of developments has at least in part been stimulated by President Park's irresponsible and arrogant assertions on several occasions that he can manage Korea's defense without United States help. I disagree strongly with President Park's contentions. I support the position taken by Major General John Singlaub that the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea will lead to a war. My position is based upon extremely reliable information and upon my own evaluation of the state of affairs as an intelligence specialist who served as the Director of the KCIA for the longest period of time of any man.

My View of North Korea

If there is a war, I feel that South Korea will be communized. In December of 1962, Kim Il Sung of North Korea announced his "Four Point" military strategy for the so-called "Communist unification of Korea by military force" at the Fourth Convention of the Korean Workers' Party. His points were

1. All people in North Korea are to armed;
2. The whole country of North Korea will be made into a military stronghold;
3. All military personnel will become officers; and
4. The North Korean army and troops will be modernized.

I do not believe that there has been any change in Kim Il Sung's

basic strategy over the past 15 years, *but I recognize the fact that it is necessary to evaluate the North Korean society in conjunction with more accurate and more reliable information. As far as I can see, North Korea is the one of the few states in the world without taxation. Its heavy industry is outstanding and surpasses South Korea's.* Even if the average standard of living in North Korea may be lower than the standard of living of South Koreans, I believe that the people of North Korea live with a greater sense of satisfaction.

The North Korean people do not suffer from a high degree of international demonstration effect. The international demonstration effect in South Korea is extremely high. There are no visible gaps between the haves and the have-nots in North Korea. Therefore I feel that the North Korean population most likely feel less relatively deprived than their southern counterparts.

I estimate that the standard of living of the ordinary people in North Korea is higher than in South Korea. From the mother's cradle, every North Korean child has attended day care centers and been indoctrinated by the Communist ideology. Thus it seems to me that the discipline and ideological zeal of the North Korean Communists is much stronger than that of the South Koreans. In fact I feel that there is no comparison; the will of the North Koreans is almost 100 times stronger than the will of the South Koreans. This phenomenon also holds true for the military. Although the North Korean troops are inferior in numbers, (i.e., 430,000 army, 20,000 navy, 45,000 air force and total: 500,000), they are much stronger than the South Korean troops on the battlefield because they are so well disciplined both militarily and ideologically. The North Korean Communists have their own historic mission for so-called national liberation. In addition they have a much stronger navy and air force.

Let's now take a look at the Vietnam War for a moment to demonstrate my point. Just before the fall of Vietnam, the ratio of the South Vietnamese to the North Vietnamese was 3 to 1 in military troop strength and 7 to 1 in weapons and equipment. But in contrast with the corruption of the ruling elite and the lack of ideological conviction of the South Vietnamese soldiers, because the North Vietnamese had strong ideological convictions, they defeated the South. With this in mind

because of the unprecedented dictatorship and the differences in wealth, I do not think the South Korean Army would make sacrifices on behalf of President Park.

As a Korean nationalist, I do not mind the eventual withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea but I favor the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula now. I do not feel we should take a chance on creating a great tragedy by using nuclear weapons to iron out the lesser tragedies of national division and confrontation. Any nuclear attack would undoubtedly and inevitably lead to reprisals. The South Korean population, being much larger than the North Korean population, would face far more tragic consequences from the use of nuclear weapons. This is the principal reason why I support the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea.

How to Respond to American Withdrawal

However, before the U.S. troops are withdrawn from Korea, I urge that the following preconditions should be fulfilled:

1. The groundwork should be laid for the restoration of peace and stability to the region, (e.g., a 4-power guarantee);
2. A non-aggression treaty must be signed between the South and the North;
3. Both North and South Korea should be admitted to the United Nations simultaneously;
4. For the sake of military balance between North and South Korea, the South Korean army should be modernized and should improve its training; and
5. South and North Korea should reopen the talks for peaceful reunification.

At this point in time I do not feel that any of the preconditions have been met. The withdrawal of American troops from Korea prior to making plans for the satisfaction of these preconditions would have the effect of making South Korea a second Vietnam.

I feel that it is nonsense if the United States thinks that it will deter a North Korean attack while U.S. ground forces are in the process of withdrawal. U.S. ground forces are the most formidable deterrent to

Kim Il Sung. I do not believe that Kim Il Sung would take the American warning or threat of counterattack at its face value. The U.S. promised that they would intervene immediately in the case of a North Vietnamese attack while the U.S. was pulling out of Vietnam, but at the critical moment, the U.S. could not even reopen the bombing and instead spent valuable time in the debate between the Congress and the Administration. The U.S. was in a greater hurry to rescue its citizens than it was to save South Vietnam during the final days of war.

At this time I would like to talk about the untimeliness of the withdrawal of American ground forces from Korea from the perspective of America's national interests.

First, if the primary objective of the U.S. military withdrawal from Korea is to prevent American ground forces from being involved automatically in a ground war on the Korean peninsula and sacrificing the lives of more young American men, it is my contention that American ground forces do not have to withdraw in such a hurry. Because as long as American ground forces remain in Korea, there will not be a large scale ground war. The American military presence is the main reason why Kim Il Sung has not initiated a military attack on South Korea. I have much reliable information to support this contention.

It is hard to imagine that Kim Il Sung who experienced the almost complete destruction of his territory by American fire power during the Korean War would dare to make another futile attack which would expose North Korean society as a target for American forces again after 25 years.

Second, as was mentioned earlier, if the U.S. forces withdraw from Korea there is a high probability of a war. If this should occur, President Carter would be in more trouble than he now expects.

If the U.S. withdraws its ground forces and a dangerous situation arises, President Carter would be in a dilemma of having to make an enormous sacrifice to support Korea or having to unilaterally break America's commitment to completely support Korea. This is the reason that I think that at the present time withdrawal of American troops

from Korea is not the best plan from President Carter's point of view.

Third, if it is in fact the case that the majority of American taxpayers support the policy of U.S. military withdrawal from Korea in order to save money, I think your own Undersecretary of State, Mr. Habib, has already given you the answers to this theory. I do not wish to elaborate on this point at this time because it is a well-known fact within both the Administration and the Congress.

Fourth, if you prefer to have a strong American military that is in good physical condition and is also well disciplined, then I would remind you that Korea is an ideal training area for your troops. Korea is almost the only place among allied countries in the developing world where you will not hear the anti-American slogan, "Yankee go home."

Fifth, the last and most important reason to oppose the American troop withdrawal is its connection with the human rights issue in Korea.

If the U.S. troops withdraw from Korea, President Park will undoubtedly strengthen his dictatorship; conversely, the degree of American influence will decrease sharply, and the Korean people's ordeal will be prolonged before the human rights situation is likely to improve. This is the reason why so many freedom loving people who are fighting against President Park's dictatorship are also opposing President Carter's policy of withdrawing American troops.

Thus American citizens who have the same values and the same beliefs as these South Korean people should stand and be counted in opposition to the withdrawal of American troops from Korea.

President Park's Attempts to Appease Me

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I am standing here today in the midst of considerable pressure and temptation to return to my native land.

President Park once sent me a letter saying "Your remarkable achievements on behalf of the May 16 Revolution and for national security will be everlasting in our history." The current director of the

KCIA has twice written me letters this year, that is, on January 17 and February 14, advising me to return to Korea. His letters state, "Why don't you put everything aside and come back to the fatherland and work together hand in hand again as in the old days for the greater benefit of the Korean nation and people. I intend to give you whatever you want."

Since I left Korea, at President Park's direction, high officials have frequently attempted to persuade me to return. Those individuals include Kim Dong Jo, a former Ambassador to Washington; Han Byung Ki, a former Ambassador to the U.N., currently Ambassador to Canada, and also President Park's son-in-law; and Kim Jong Pil, a former Prime Minister.

For example, I was offered an ambassadorship to either Brazil or Mexico.

If I were intent on honor and power, I would have already succumbed to these temptations and would have assumed more power than I had in the old days; but I have made up my mind not to cooperate with Park Chung Hee.

After my interview appeared in the New York Times of June 4, a spokesman for the Korean Ministry of Information said, "He has supported the line promoted by the North Korean puppets. He has not hesitated to fabricate stories without any basis or to make a statement which betrays the nation. He should be condemned by the entire Korean people." And this government official wages a campaign to degrade my character and to question my patriotism.

No one will deny that once I had been called "Mr. Anti-Communist" in Korea. As such evidence, I offer my books to this honorable subcommittee in order to prove these allegations. "The Activities and Realities of Communism" and "The Bridge of the World" and two letters which I recently received from the KCIA Director.

In conclusion, my final goal is to assist in the restoration of the human rights and democratic freedoms of my fellow Koreans who are now suffering under oppression.

My struggle is for freedom because human rights are a part of freedom. I would like to reiterate my demand at this point that President Park should immediately step down and resign, to open a path for establishing democratic government based on real, popular support and national solidarity. He must stop his charade and stop this perversion of our country's history. He must give up his one man dictatorship.

I want to especially ask you not to misunderstand all of the Korean people because of the mistakes of those in power. I hope that in the process of conquering this unfortunate situation our traditional relationship as allies will become stronger. I emphasize once more that the way to maintain peace is to restore human rights and democracy.

Unless those conditions that I have outlined are met in my country, I plea to all my good American friends to reconsider the plan to withdraw American forces from Korea.

Finally, I would like to say that the testimony presented before this committee today is within the best of my knowledge and information.

I would also like to thank this committee and Chairman Fraser for your consideration and your time. Thank you.

31. Human Rights in South Korea: New York Times

The Japanese English-language daily paper "Asahi Evening News" August 11, 1977, carried an article entitled "Human Rights in South Korea" written by a New York Times Tokyo correspondent.

In connection with the recent release of south Korean political prisoners by the Park regime, the correspondent said in the article that political prisoners were brought under intense pressures to sign statements of "repentance."

Follows the gist of the article:

SEOUL, South Korea—Holding out the possibility of release from stifling, solitary prison cells, police and other agents of the Government of President Park Chung Hee have begun applying intense psychological and physical pressures to dissidents in recent days to get them to sign statements of repentance for their opposition and political "crimes."

Fourteen men, a small fraction of the 260 or more political prisoners scattered throughout the Spartan jail system, have already been released. Officially, the Government has no comment, but rumors, fed by official innuendoes and hints to families, are rife that many others will be let out soon, possibly around Aug. 15, the anniversary of Korea's 1945 liberation from Japanese colonial rule.

The releases, which in many cases follow frantic face-saving Government efforts to gain prisoners' promises of good behavior, are seen as a measure of the South Korean Government's eagerness to improve its image in Washington, especially on Capitol Hill where the reputation of Park's authoritarian regime and the continuing Korean bribery scandal investigation jeopardize the massive military aid packages planned as United States troops withdraw from here.

Ministers, students, laborers and social workers are still being arrested and interrogated. Government agents still follow many citizens, and recently forbade the singing of "600 Save the People" in a college production of "600 Spell." The newspapers are still controlled as closely as ever by Korean Central Intelligence Agents who issue "guidance" to editors in frequent telephone calls.

On July 10, Undersecretary of State Philip C. Habib, a former ambassador to Korea, visited here. The announced purpose was for further consultations on the gradual troop pullout.

Exactly one week after Habib's visit, 14 men were released. U.S. Embassy officials here declined comment on any connection. A spokesman said, "The Embassy reflects the President's policies and the President has reflected an increased interest in human rights."

Whatever the connection, if any, prisoners have come under intense pressures to sign statements of "repentance." The statements' contents vary but generally include an admission of wrongdoing, such as criticizing the president, an expression of regret, a promise not to repeat the crime and to lead a "quiet life" and a recognition that the suspended prison sentences could be reimposed.

Many prisoners have been summoned to interrogation rooms or visited in their cells and urged, cajoled and threatened to sign. Relatives' visiting hours were lengthened if they would urge the prisoner to sign. Prisoners were told that the release of all others hinged on their one signature. And one prisoner was shown a deathbed letter from his father urging him to sign.

Those who refused outright were placed in "punishment rooms," windowless enclosures measuring a little more than three feet by six feet where the summer's heat and humidity is heavy. The prisoners, whose jail terms of varying length were confirmed by South Korea's Supreme Court, were told that their release now depend solely on themselves.

These developments have given the South Korean opposition movement a modest morale boost and a sense of bargaining power. In fact, some prisoners reportedly have vowed not to sign any statement in order

to maintain a political prisoner population internationally embarrassing to Park. “We think these partial releases are a public relation’s face-saving gimmick and an effort to divide us,” said one dissident leader, who risks a seven-year prison term for criticizing the Government to a foreigner. “Even when you’re out of jail, you’re still a prisoner because you can’t say anything political or they’ll throw you right back in.”

32. Park Signals 'No Change'

—Far Eastern Economic Review—

August 26, 1977

In its August 26, 1977 issue Far Eastern Economic Review carried an article entitled "Park signals 'No Sign'" written by a correspondent, in connection with the release of 17 dissidents on Aug. 15 by the Park Chung Hee junta.

Follows the full text of the article:

Seoul: In another cosmetic gesture, President Park Chung Hee released a further 17 dissidents on August 15, the 32nd anniversary of Korea's emancipation from Japanese colonial rule.

Those released were only the "mosquitoes" who had irritated the President. The better known critics of Park's rule, such as Kim Dae Jung, who nearly defeated Park in the 1971 presidential contest, are still in jail. They are among 280 other political detainees held under the 1975 Emergency decree.

The families of these detainees called for their immediate and unconditional release and the wives and mothers of about 30 dissidents staged a hunger strike to back the demand "so that the country can restore the true image of democracy."

But President Park has made it clear that whatever United States President Jimmy Carter's views on human rights in South Korea, Park will not restore South Korea to what it was before his "revitalising reform" order.

Among the 17 released were five Protestant clergymen, headed by the Rev. Cho Hong Nae, a Presbyterian from South Cholla Province. They were jailed in 1976 and this year, it was understood, for criticizing the Government in their church sermons.

Others were a college student and persons described by the Government as "jobless." The student, identified as Kim Yang Su, was jailed for plotting a demonstration, allegedly designed to topple the Government, in 1974.

All but Kim were charged and convicted under the 1975 Emergency decree that prohibits criticisms of the Government and the 1972 Constitution. A sweeping decree, it stipulates only the minimum penalty of one year's imprisonment for its violators. No maximum punishment is specified.

The latest parole brought to 31 the total number of people released since July. Whether there will be more releases is hard to tell, especially as the Government insists that detainees must show positive signs of "repentance."

Others still held include Roman Catholic priests Ham Se Ung and Mun Chong Hyon, who headed the now-banned "Congress for Restoration of Democracy," the brothers Timothy and Stephen Moon, who are respected theologians, and Professors Suh Nam Dong and Lee Hae Dong.

They were convicted in March of Emergency violations after signing a manifesto asking President Park to resign. Scattered in prisons across the country, they are serving jail sentences ranging from two-and-a-half to five years. Their continued detention has dismayed the Opposition and angered their families.

The Government's position, as given by President Park in his news conference two weeks ago, is tough. No dissident who does not "clearly" repent, he indicated, would be freed. Some dissidents were generously treated in the past, he said, and then behaved as if they were "victorious generals." Unconditional freedom would mean renewed political unrest, causing the Government to crack down again. He called this process a "vicious cycle."

It was a disappointing message but even more disturbing was his general perception of the country's overall political future. As against hopes for a political thaw generated by his meeting in May with opposition party leader Lee Chul Seung, at which they spoke of seeking "political progress," Park was now holding out only a slim promise for improvement.

The 1972 Constitution — the abrogation of which has remained the chief goal of the dissidents movement — is to remain the framework for future relations between the Government and the opposition party, he said. Predictions of early elections — outside its framework — were discouraged forcefully. To many dissidents as well as to the New Democratic Party, it was a message of "more of the same."

In his news conference, President Park did raise hopes that the current parliamentary election law would be modified to enable more legislators to be elected, but it was a concession too small to match the optimistic expectations.

APPENDIX

I. The Yushin Constitution

"In October of 1972, he (Park Chung Hee) declared martial law and promulgated what he calls a new "Yushin" or "revitalization" constitution. It is no constitution at all, but a charter for a police state," stated by George McGovern, U.S. Senator, Sep. 15, 1976.

Follows the full text of the "Yushin" constitution:

1. Supreme Goal of Peaceful National Unification

The Constitution prior to the adoption of the new Amendments did not refer in specific terms to the objective of national unification. No one in the south has ever seriously doubted that the Constitution of the Republic of Korea extends its abstract validity to north Korea, since the territory of the Republic of Korea covers the whole Korean peninsula, including the northern area (Article 3), even though its actual applicability now ends at the DMZ separating the two parts of Korea. The north Korean authorities are no more than insurgents or usurpers in terms of legal logic. Various statutes and ordinances were accordingly made. Under this formula, it would follow that no avenue to national unification, including south-north talks, other than an outright north Korean surrender or the military conquest of the north was possible. All these were vestiges of the Cold War under an east-west bipolar world order, which has recently been thawing with the world-wide mood of detente.

The Amendments incorporated in the Preamble include the statement that peaceful national unification is a supreme goal. The President is entrusted with the responsibility for the attainment of peaceful unification. He is required to taken an oath, upon assuming office, that he

will faithfully discharge the duties of his office, doing his utmost for the peaceful unification of the fatherland. A new constitutional organ called the National Conference for Unification is established to deliberate on important policy matters for the attainment of national unification. Thus, a constitutional base is established for the positive support of the south-north dialogues in progress through the two avenues at different levels, namely, the South-North Coordinating Committee and the South-North Red Cross Talks.

2. Establishment of the National Conference for Unification

The new National Conference for Unification (hereinafter simply referred to as the National Conference) is located at the apex of the governmental structure: the Conference is the sovereign organ, acting on behalf of the people, entrusted with the sacred mission of the unification of the fatherland; that is, a national organization founded on the basis of the collective will of the people for the attainment of peaceful national unification (Article 35).

The National Conference is composed of 2,000 to 5,000 delegates elected by universal suffrage of the people (Article 36, Section 1).

The National Conference has the following four Constitutional functions:

(1) Policy-Making Body for National Unification

The President requests the National Conference to deliberate and make decisions on important policy matters for national unification when deemed necessary for attaining the consensus of the people in determining or changing unification policies. The National Conference's policy decision for national unification shall be deemed the final decision made by the collective will of the people (Article 38).

(2) Electoral College

The National Conference elects the President by secret ballot with the concurrence of the majority of the delegates duly elected and seated (Article 39). The National Conference elects one third of the National

Assemblymen on the recommendation of the President (Article 40).

(3) The Final Confirmation Organ for Amendment to the Constitution

The National Conference makes the final confirmation on any draft amendments to the Constitution proposed and passed by the National Assembly (Article 41).

3. Extended Introduction of the National Referendum System

Some aspects of direct democracy have been increased with the extended introduction of the national referendum in the constitutional process. As for methods for exercise of the popular sovereignty, the Constitution provides that the people shall exercise sovereignty either through their representatives or by means of national referendum (Article 1, Section 2).

Previously there was no provision for national referendum, except in the case of constitutional amendments. Now the President may submit to a national referendum any important policy matters of the state when he deems it necessary (Article 49). And, if approved, he can more positively implement such policies on the basis of a firm mandate from the people. Amendments to the Constitution proposed by the President are confirmed by national referendum (Article 124, Section 2, 1st Paragraph). A broader use may thus be made of the national referendum in order to insure for the President a national leadership that is stable, efficient, sufficiently aloof from partisan politics, and under direct mandate from the people, so that he can best serve the national interests.

4. Strengthened Power of the President

The Republic of Korea is presently facing serious challenges and crises stemming from adverse realities of a rapidly changing world. The Far Eastern situation, the continuing dialogues with the north Korean Communists, who have lived under an entirely different ideology and social structure from ours for over three decades, and very complicated problems arising from rapidly induced industrialization and urbanization, including environmental problems, also await a solution under governmental leadership.

In order to overcome these challenges and crises, and to ensure national survival and progress, there has to be a political structure which can promptly and effectively adapt itself for the solution of grave problems ahead, or cope with any extraordinary or emergency situation that may arise in the future. Therefore, it is equally imperative to provide a constitutional base upon which the President can take not only *ex post facto*, but effective preventive measures, in case of emergency.

In essence, the Constitution is an attempt to vest most government power in the President, and to divide the remaining elements of power and function among the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The President is above the three branches, whereby he is sufficiently removed from politics to be able to make his decisions in terms of the best interest of the nation. The powerful President provided for in the Amendments will serve as a true voice of the Korean people, since he will be able to determine what are in fact the valid interests of the whole people, separated from private and partisan interests thrust upon the executive or the legislature. This aloofness from politics on the part of the President is partially augmented through a direct mandate from the people by way of national referendum.

In the Constitution, the President is more than a mere arbiter who exercises a neutral power among three branches of the government; he is constitutionally the national leader who exercises state power in the determination of important matters of state. Accordingly, the President has the duty to safeguard faithfully the Constitution as well as the independence, territorial integrity and continuity of the state (Article 43, Section 2). He also has the duty to pursue faithfully the goal of peaceful national unification (Article 43, Section 3). The President is empowered to submit to national referendum important policy matters of the state when he deems it necessary (Article 49). The President is also empowered to take emergency measures with regard to the whole range of state affairs in case of national emergency or when the national security is seriously threatened, or is likely to be threatened (Article 53). Such an emergency measure is not subject to judicial review (Article 53, Section 4). The President is empowered to dissolve the National Assembly (Article 59).

The position of the President under the Constitution is closely

related to the reform or reduction of the powers of the National Assembly, in terms of indigenizing of Western democracy by ceasing blindly to copy Western parliamentary and political party systems.

An added element of stability and economy is the extension of the term of office of the President (as well as the members of the National Assembly) from four to six years. This is aimed at economizing expenses, time and energy wasted in too frequent general elections. A divided country in the process of modernization such as Korea cannot afford to hold expensive general elections every four years.

5. Constitutional Provisions for Political Parties in the Political Process Deleted

As we have already seen, the past meticulous constitutional provisions for the functions and the roles of political parties in the political process had produced a great many overheated, irrational political practices, accompanied by waste, inefficiency, factional divisions and paralysis of governmental functions. A substantial degree of skepticism developed over the genuine functions and roles of political parties. In the newly amended Constitution, the previous constitutional provisions for the parties were deleted.

Anyone who runs for President or the National Assembly is no longer required to obtain nomination of a political party. Moreover, a delegate to the National Conference is prohibited from joining political party (Article 37, Seciton 3).

However, the plural political party system is as firmly guaranteed as before (Article 7).

6. Relationship between the Executive and the Legislative Branches of Government

Two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly are elected by direct universal suffrage, and the remaining one third by the National Conference on the recommendation of the President (Article 40 and 76). The regular session of the National Assembly is held once every year for a maximum period of 90 days, and an extraordinary session not

exceeding 30 days may be held upon the request of one third or more of the members, or the President. The total period of sessions, including regular and extraordinary sessions, will not exceed 150 days annually. Moreover, the National Assembly can discuss and act only upon the bills submitted by the Executive within the length of period indicated by the President, when it holds an extraordinary session upon the request of the President. This latter extraordinary session period shall not be counted in computing the total period of 150 days annually (Article 82). However, the term of office of the members of the National Assembly is extended from four to six years with a view of fostering stability and economy. The term of the representatives elected by the National Conference is three years.

As already discussed, under the present Constitution the power of the Government is vested in the President, and the remaining elements of power and authority are divided among the three branches of the government. There are certain elements of the doctrine of checks and balances still working among them. Especially between the Executive and the Legislative, some salutary elements of the parliamentary form of government are introduced to ensure powerful and efficient leadership of the government and a working principle of political responsibility in the Korean political process, as cabinet government shows.

The National Assembly may pass a motion for the removal of the Prime Minister or an individual State Council member from office (Article 97, Section 1), while the President is empowered to dissolve the former (Article 59, Section 1). When a motion for the removal of the Prime Minister is passed, the President is required to remove *en masse* the Prime Minister and all members of the Council from office (Article 97, Section 3). The Prime Minister is appointed by the President only upon the approval of the National Assembly (Article 63).

The Prime Minister, the State Council members and representatives of the Executive may attend meeting of the National Assembly or its committees to report on the state of administration or to deliver opinions and answer questions (Article 96, Section 1). The National Assembly, or its committees, for their part may request the Prime Minister, the State Council members and Representatives of the Executive to appear at a meeting of the National Assembly and to answer questions (Article

96, Section 2). However, only the National Assembly or its committees, not simply a certain number of members (previously more than 30), may request the appearance of the Prime Minister or other Ministers.

The National Assembly no longer holds its previous power to inspect the administration of the state, demand the production of necessary documents, the appearance in person of a witness, and the furnishing of testimony opinions. As a result, the role and functions of the Board of Audit and Inspection have gained relative importance, although the constitutional provisions for the Board remain unchanged. The National Assembly still has such investigatory functions as holding hearings or collecting materials for use in its deliberation of future bills.

7. Judicial Branch

The judicial power is vested in courts composed of judges (Article 100, Section 1). The independence of the judiciary is well guaranteed in the new Constitution (Article 102, 104, 106, etc.), as before.

With the previous institution of the Justice of the Supreme Court is appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly (Article 103, Section 1). All judges, including Justices other than the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, are appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the Chief Justice (Article 103, Section 2). The power of judicial review of legislation, which was vested in the ordinary courts, and also the power of the Supreme Court to rule on the dissolution of a political party, is now vested in the newly-created Constitution Committee (Article 109).

8. Constitution Committee

The Constitution Committee, separated from the ordinary courts, is established by the Amendments to the Constitution. Only the Committee is now empowered to rule on the constitutionality of statutes at the request of a court (Article 109), when decision on constitutionality is a prerequisite to a trial; the court renders judgment in accordance with the Committee's decision thereof (Article 105, Section 1). Another full swing is thus made, from judicial review on an American model to the present Constitution Committee of German lineage.

The Constitution Committee is also empowered to make judgment on impeachment and on the dissolution of a political party (Article 109). The Committee is composed of nine members appointed by the President. Three are appointed from among persons selected by the National Assembly and three others from those nominated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Article 109, Section 3).

9. Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

Constitutional guarantees of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people remain largely intact, including the equal protection clause, the due process of law, freedom of residence and choice of occupation, privacy in correspondence, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly and association, and others. Besides specific restrictions included in respective provisions, there is a general clause that rights and freedoms may be restricted by statute only when such a restriction is deemed necessary for the maintenance of national security, order and public welfare (Article 32, Section 2). The stipulation of the maintenance of national security, which was lacking in the previous formula, is newly added.

The additional individual provision of specific restrictions include; a person on active military service or an employee of the military forces, a policeman, and others as defined by statute who sustain damages in connection with the performance of official duties, such as combat action and training, are precluded from making a claim against the State or a local autonomous body for compensation on the ground of unlawful acts of public officials committed in the exercise of official duties, except for compensation as determined by statute (Article 26, Section 2). The right to collective action of public officials and workers engaged in state or local governments, state-run enterprises, public utility businesses, and enterprises which have a serious impact on the national economy may either be restricted or denied in accordance with the provisions of a statute (Article 29, Section 3).

10. Provisions for Constitutional Amendments

There are two channels for proposing amendments to the Constitution: either by the President or by more than one half of the

members of the National Assembly (Article 124, Section 1).

Amendments to the Constitution proposed by the President may be established by national referendum, and amendments offered by the members of the National Assembly may be established by vote of the National Conference for Unification, after being passed by the National Assembly (Article 124, Section 2).

11. Others

A new constitutional base is laid for the nation-wide Saemaul Undong or New Community Movement: the state establishes a plan for the development of the farming and fishing areas on the basis of self-help of the farmers and fishermen, and strives for the balanced development of local communities (Article 120). Besides these, the Constitutional provisions relating to the economy remain unchanged.

The formation of local governments provided for in the old constitution is postponed until the goal of national unification is achieved (Supplementary Rules, Article 10).

II. The National Security Law

This law, along with the Special Crimes Punishment Law, was enacted soon after the military coup led by Park Chung-hee, to define anti-establishment activity (described as "anti-revolutionary acts") as felonies. With these laws the Park regime decreed that democratic movements were acts against the state. Under these laws many persons have been arrested, tried, convicted, and given heavy sentences.

Article 1. (Formation of Anti-State Organization). Any person who has organized an association or group for the purpose of assuming a title of the Government, or disturbing the State (hereinafter referred to as an anti-state organization) shall be punished according to the following classification:

1. The ringleader shall be punished by capital punishment or life term sentence;
2. The leaders or those engaged in duties of leadership shall be punished by capital punishment, life term or penal servitude for not less than five years;
3. Any persons involved therein, other than those mentioned hereinabove, shall be punished by penal servitude for a term of not less than seven years.

Article 2. (Performance of Military Objective). If a component of an anti-state organization or a person who had been under instructions from such organization as above has committed any one of the acts as stipulated in Articles 92 to 99 inclusive of the Criminal Code, punishment shall be imposed on him or her in accordance with penal provisions stipulated in each article of the Criminal Code.

Article 3. (Performance of General Objectives). If a component of an anti-state organization or a person who had been under instruction from such organization has committed any acts designed to perform such objective, he or she shall be punished in accordance with the following classification:

1. If such person has detected, collected or divulged national secrets or committed an act of using explosives, he or she shall be sentenced to death or life term sentence;
2. If such person has committed homicide, arson, inundation

or forging currency or an act of using thereof, he or she shall be sentenced to death or life term sentence or a sentence for not less than ten years;

3. If such person has destroyed, robbed, looted or taken away by enticement, transportation, communications facilities or buildings or any other key facilities used by the State or public organizations or moved or taken away vessels, airplanes, automobiles, weapons or any other goods, he or she shall be sentenced to a life term or sentenced to penal servitude for not less than five years.;
4. If such person has committed such act of disturbance, injury or has damaged or destroyed, concealed, forged, transformed such documents or materials coming under the category of national secrets, or conveyed or mediated to convey national secrets or conducted an act of obtaining forged currencies, he or she shall be sentenced to a definite term of penal servitude for not less than two years.

Article 4. (Instigation and Propaganda). If a component of an anti-state organization or a person who had been under instructions from such organization has instigated or propagandized such acts as stipulated as crimes in the preceding three articles, he or she shall be sentenced to penal servitude for not more than ten years.

Article 5. (Voluntary Support and Receiving Money or Materials). (1) Any person who has committed such acts as stipulated in the preceding three articles for the purpose of supporting an anti-state organization on a voluntary basis shall also be punished similarly as set in the preceding three articles.

(2) If a person has received money or materials from a component of an anti-state organization or a person who has received its directive, with the knowledge of such circumstances, he or she shall be sentenced to penal servitude for not more than seven years.

Article 6. (Traveling to and from the Unlawfully Controlled Area). (1) Any person, who has gained entrance into this country illegally from, or escaped to, the area which is unlawfully controlled by the anti-state organization, shall be sentenced to penal servitude for not more than five years.

(2) Any person who has committed such acts as stipulated in the preceding paragraph after receiving, or in order to receive, a directive from the anti-state organization or after discussing or

in order to discuss the execution of its objective, shall be sentenced to penal servitude for not less than one year to not more than ten years.

Article 8. (Preparation and Conspiracy). (1) Any person who has prepared or conspired to commit crimes as set forth in Articles 1 and 2, Sub-Sections No. 1 to 3 (including cases derived from such crime as set forth in Article 5, paragraph 1) shall be sentenced to a definite term of penal servitude for not less than two years.

(2) Any person who has prepared or conspired in order to commit the crimes as set forth in Sub-Section No. 4 of Article 3, Article 4 (including cases derived from crimes in Article 5, paragraph 1) or Article 5 shall be sentenced to penal servitude for not more than ten years.

Article 9. (Failure to Inform). A person who, having recognized a person who has committed any one of the crimes as set forth in the preceding eight articles, and has failed to inform a public official engaged in the duty of criminal detection, such person shall be liable to punishment with penal servitude for not more than five years or with a fine of not more than one hundred thousand won. However, if the person is a relative of the criminal, punishment shall be mitigated for him.

III. The Anti-Communist Law

This legislation was passed along with the National Security Law as part of the effort to strengthen the ROK government's national policy of anti-communism, and thus to suppress all anti-establishment forces. Article 8 on failure to report known violations makes it obligatory to report on supporters of organizations opposing the Park regime, and articles 10 and 11 determine the rewards and compensation due informers.

Article 1. (Purpose) The purpose of this Law is to strengthen the anti-communist posture, which is the primary objective of the national reconstruction tasks, and to block the activities of communist organizations that endanger the national security, so that the safety of the State and freedom of the people may be secured.

Article 2. (Definition) The anti-state organizations mentioned in this Law shall refer to those organizations, from among the organizations as stipulated in Article 1 of the National Security Law, that operate along the lines of the communists.

Article 3. (Affiliation and Enticement for Affiliation) (1) Any person who has affiliated with or enticed other persons to affiliate with the anti-State organizations shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years.

(2) The attempted offender mentioned in the foregoing paragraph shall be punished.

(3) Any person who has prepared or conspired for the purpose of committing the offenses under paragraph 1 shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than five years.

Article 4. (Praise, Encouragement, etc.) (1) Any person who has benefited the anti-State organizations by praising, encouraging or siding with or through other means the activities of an anti-State organization or their components or the communist organizations outside the Republic of Korea shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years. The same shall apply to the person who has organized or affiliated with the organizations for the purpose of committing such acts.

(2) The same penalty shall apply to any person who has, for the purpose of committing the acts as provided for in the foregoing paragraph, produced, imported, duplicated, kept in custody,

transported, disseminated, sold or acquired documents, drawings and any other similar means of expression.

(3) The person who notifies without delay to either investigation or intelligence agency the fact that he has acquired such means of expression as provided for in the foregoing paragraph shall be exempt from punishment.

(4) The attempted offenders mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 shall be subject to punishment.

(5) Any person who has prepared or conspired for the purpose of committing the offenses mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than five years.

Article 5. (Meetings, Communications, etc.) (1) Any person who has, with the knowledge that he might benefit the anti-State organizations or the communists abroad, met with or has established liaison with, by communications or any other means, or has received money or materials from, a component of an anti-State organization or a person who has received its directive, shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years.

(2) The attempted offender of the crime mentioned in the foregoing paragraph shall be punished.

(3) Any person who has prepared or conspired for the purpose of committing the crime mentioned in paragraph 1 shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than five years.

Article 6. (Escape and Infiltration) (1) Any person who has escaped into the area controlled by the anti-State organization shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than ten years.

(2) In case a person, having infiltrated into this country from the area controlled by the anti-State organization, fails to surrender without delay to either an investigation or intelligence agency, he shall be subject to punishment of imprisonment at hard labor for a definite term not less than five years.

(3) If any person has committed the crime under the foregoing paragraph under the directive from the anti-State organization or its component, he shall be punished by death, life term or imprisonment at hard labor for not less than five years.

(4) A person who has escaped from this country by receiving or with an intention to receive a directive of the anti-State organi-

zation or communists abroad shall be governed by the provision of the foregoing paragraph.

(5) The attempted offenders of the crimes mentioned in paragraph 1 and the foregoing paragraph shall be punished.

(6) The person who has prepared or conspired for the purpose of committing the crime mentioned in paragraph 1 shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years, and the person who has prepared or conspired for the purpose of committing the crime mentioned in paragraph 4 shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a definite term not less than two years.

Article 10. (Prize) (1) To the person who has informed an investigation or intelligence agency of, or has arrested, the offender of the crime under this Law or the National Security Law, the staff personnel of an investigation or intelligence agency who has arrested the aforesaid offender upon recognizance, a prize money shall be awarded in accordance with the provisions of a Presidential decree.

(2) A prize money may be awarded, in accordance with the provision of the preceding paragraph, to a person who has inevitably killed the offender or has forced the offender to commit suicide because of the offender's resistance or fighting against him when he was trying to arrest the offender.

IV. Presidential Emergency Decrees Nos. 1, 2

The SNU student uprising of October 1973 spread to other major campuses, rallied intellectuals, journalists, and religious leaders, and then this broad-based coalition expanded into a nationwide movement for revision of the Yushin Constitution. Fearing the power of this movement, President Park utilized Article 53 of the constitution to issue Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 2 to suppress the constitutional revision campaign, and offenders were given heavy sentences of up to fifteen years in prison.

No. 1

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to deny, oppose, misrepresent or defame the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to assert, introduce, propose or petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to fabricate or disseminate false rumors.

Article 4. It shall be prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts which are prohibited in Article 1 through 3 of the present Emergency Measures; or communicate such act or acts to others through broadcasting, reporting, or publishing, or by any other means.

Article 5. Any person who violates any provision of the present Emergency Measures or any person who defames the present Emergency Measures shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure, without warrant thereof; and shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than 15 years. Suspension of qualification may be concurrently imposed.

Article 6. Any person who violates any provision of the present Emergency Measures shall be tried and sentenced in the Emergency Courts-Martial.

Article 7. The present Emergency Measures shall be effective as of 17:00 hours on January 8, 1974.

No. 2

Article 1. In order to try and adjudicate any person who violated any provision of the Emergency Measures proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Korea, the Emergency Courts-Martial shall be established as follows:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Jurisdiction</i>
The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial	Ministry of National Defense	nationwide
The General Emergency Court-Martial	Ministry of National Defense	nationwide

Article 2. The Emergency Courts-Martial shall have jurisdiction to try and adjudicate all crimes committed by any person who violated any provision of the Emergency Measures proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. The Emergency Courts-Martial shall have Trial Divisions through which they exercise the power to try and adjudicate.

Article 4. The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial shall have one Trial Division. The Trial Division shall be composed of seven Judges as follows:

1. One President of Court-Martial who is a commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
2. One Law Officer who is a judge advocate officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
3. Five Members of Court-Martial consisting of two commissioned general officers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea and three civilians appointed from persons with qualifications as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law.

Article 5. The General Emergency Court-Martial shall have three Trial Divisions. Each Trial Division shall be composed of five Judges as follows:

1. One President of Court-Martial who is a commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
2. One Law Officer who is a judge advocate officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
3. Three Members of Court-Martial consisting of one commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea and two civilians appointed from persons with

qualifications as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law.

Article 6. The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial and the General Emergency Court-Martial shall have Prosecution Divisions which shall be attached to each court-martial respectively. The jurisdiction of each Prosecution Division shall be that of the respective court-martial to which it is attached.

Article 8. The Prosecuting Officers of the Emergency Courts-Martial shall have the following powers and duties with respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction:

1. Powers and duties of a public prosecutor as provided in the Office of the Public Prosecutors Law and the Code of Criminal Procedure, and those of a military prosecutor as provided in the Courts-Martial Law;
2. Direction and supervision over investigation by judicial police officers and special judicial police officers;
3. Request for co-operation to public prosecutors and military prosecutors.

Article 9. Judges and Prosecuting Officers of the Emergency Courts-Martial shall be appointed by the President, from commissioned general officers and judge advocate officers of the Armed Forces upon hearing the opinion of the Minister of National Defense, and from civilians with qualification as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law upon hearing the opinion of the Minister of Justice. Prosecuting Officers shall be appointed from judge advocate officers and public prosecutors.

Article 10. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency shall have powers to co-ordinate and supervise the activities concerning information, investigations and security protection with respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction.

Article 12. With respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction, the Prosecuting Officer shall issue the warrant of arrest, detention, search or seizure in the case where the warrant issued by a commanding officer of a military unit wherein a court-martial is established is required.

Article 13. When necessary for trial and investigation, an accused or a suspect may be ordered by the Presiding Judge or the Prosecuting Officer to be confined in such facilities as a hospital or a house with appropriate restriction or supervision. Any person who vio-

lates the order of confinement shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years.

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 4

With Emergency Measure No. 4 President Park dealt a crushing blow to the April 3 student activities. Of those related to the NFDYS, 203 were arrested, tried by military courts, and given harsh sentences, including the death penalty for some. Included were two Japanese men (a columnist and a university lecturer) and "members" of the fabricated "People's Revolutionary Party" (some of them had never met or known each other before). The unwarranted severity of the emergency measures, however, drew forth even greater criticism from abroad, and also motivated many Catholics to join the democratic struggle.

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to organize or join the National Democratic Youth and Student Federation or any organization affiliated with it; to praise, encourage or sympathize with the activities of the said organization or its members; to assemble with its members or contact them by formal means of communication or by any other means; to provide a place, articles, money or any other accommodation for its members to help them hide, establish contact, or engage in other activities; or to participate directly or indirectly in the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to publish, produce, possess, disseminate, exhibit or sell documents, books, phonographic records or any other means of expression concerning the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2.

Article 4. Any person who has committed an act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2 prior to the proclamation of this measure shall report in person and without concealment all the details of the said act or acts to the investigating and intelligence authorities not later than 8th April, 1974. Any such act or acts which have been reported in person shall be exempted from punishment.

Article 5. It shall be prohibited for any student to absent himself

from school or refuse to attend classes or to take examinations without legitimate cause; to hold an assembly, demonstration, rally, or any individual or collective sit-in, outside or inside the campus, except normal classes or research activities conducted under the guidance and supervision of the school authorities. However, customary non-political activities shall be excepted.

Article 6. It is prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in this measure or to communicate such act or acts to others through broadcasting, reporting, or publishing, or by any other means.

Article 7. The Education Minister is vested with authority to expel or suspend any student who has violated the presidential measure. He may dissolve student organizations or associations or any other student bodies or abolish the school or schools to which the students who have violated this presidential measure belong. The Education Minister shall make provisions concerning the abolition of such schools.

Article 8. Any person who violates Articles 1 to 6, any person who violates measures taken by the Education Minister under Article 7, or any person who defames this measure shall be punishable by death, life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than five years. In cases of penal servitude, suspension of civil rights may be imposed concurrently. Any person who violates Articles, 1, 3, 5 or 6 shall be punished even if he committed an unconsummated offense or merely planned a conspiracy.

Article 9. Any person who violates this measure shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure without warrant and tried and punished by the Emergency Court-Martial.

Article 10. The prosecuting officers of the Emergency Court-Martial may order reversion to the State Treasury of any documents or articles of a person who violated the presidential measure even when

Article 11. When the Mayor of the Special City of Seoul, the Mayor of Pusan, or any provincial governor requests the dispatch of troops to maintain peace and order, the regional military commander shall comply with the request and provide such support.

Article 12. This measure shall be effective from 22:00 hours (local time) on 3rd April, 1974.

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9

Announced by President Park on May 13, in glowing terms of "strengthening national unity" and "preparing for total security," Emergency Measure No. 9 callously stripped the people of yet another of the few remaining democratic freedoms.

I, the President of the Republic of Korea, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Article 53 of the Constitution, and upon deliberation by the State Council, hereby proclaim Emergency Measure No. 9 as follows:

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to engage in any of the following acts:

1. Fabricating, disseminating falsehood or making false presentation of fact.
2. Denying, opposing, distorting or defaming the Constitution, or asserting, petitioning, instigating or propagating revision or repeal thereof, by means of assembly, demonstration, or by using mass-communication media such as newspapers, broadcasts or news correspondence, or by making documents, pictures, records or other publications.
3. Assemblies, demonstrations or other activities by students which interfere with politics, with the exceptions of (a) classroom or research activities conducted under guidance and supervision of school authorities, (b) activities conducted with prior approval by president or principal of school, or, (c) other ordinary, non-political activities.
4. Publicly defaming the present Emergency Measure.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to broadcast, report or otherwise disseminate publicly the content of any act or acts which violate Article 1 of the present Emergency Measure; or producing, distributing, selling, possessing or displaying publications the content of which violates Article 1 of the present Emergency Measure.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person, with intent to perpetrate a property flight, to move property or properties of the

Republic of Korea or of its national to a foreign country; or to conceal or dispose of, in a foreign country, property or properties which are due to be introduced into the Republic of Korea.

Article 4. It shall be prohibited for any person to obtain an emigration permit or to escape to foreign country, by means of entering false information in application documents or by other improper means.

Article 5. The Minister in charge may issue orders or take measures, against violators of the present Emergency Measure, against school, organization or company to which the violator is attached at the time of violation, or against its representative or head, as follows:

1. Issuing order directed to representative or head of school, organization or company, requiring dismissal or expulsion of its officers, teachers or students.
2. Dismissal or expulsion of representatives, heads, officers, teachers or students.
3. Banning of broadcasting, reporting, producing, selling or distributing.
4. Suspension of activity, closing of school, suspension of publication, discontinuance of publication, disbandment or shut-down.
5. Revocation of approval, registration, permission, authorization or license.

Article 6. The prohibition under the present Emergency Measure should not be construed to provide punishment to members of the National Assembly for their opinions officially expressed in the National Assembly: provided, however, that this exemption does not cover a person who broadcasts, reports or otherwise disseminates publicly the said opinion.

Article 7. Any person who violates any of the provisions of the present Emergency Measure and any person who does not observe measures taken by the Minister in charge by the authority of the present Emergency Measure, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of not less than 1 year. Suspension of qualification for a period of not more than 10 years shall be concurrently imposed. Any attempt, preparation or conspiracy to commit violation of the present Emergency Measures shall be punished in the same manner.

Article 8. Any person who violates any of the provisions of the present Emergency Measure, and any person who does not observe measures taken by the Minister in charge by the authority of the present Emergency Measure, shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure, without warrant thereto.

Article 9. Any government official or officer of government-managed enterprises, who violates, after the present Emergency Measure becomes effective, the provision of Article 2 of the *Law Providing Aggravated Punishment Against Specific Types of Crimes* (Law No. 1744 of February 2, 1966, as revised on February 24, 1973) which provides aggravated punishment for the crimes of bribery, or any government accountant who violates Article 5 of the said law which provides aggravated punishment for acts incurring loss to the national treasury, shall be punished, in addition to punishments set forth in each article of the said law, by fine, equivalent to 10 times of the amount taken in bribery or amount of loss incurred to the national treasury.

Article 10. Violators of the present Emergency Measure shall be tried and sentenced in civilian courts.

Article 11. Matters which are deemed necessary to enforce the present Emergency Measures shall be promulgated by the Minister in charge.

Article 12. The Minister of National Defense may assist the Mayor of Seoul, the Mayor of Pusan and Provincial Governors, if request for mobilization of the Armed Forces is made for the purpose of maintaining public order.

Article 13. Orders issued or measures taken by the Minister in charge by the authority of the present Emergency Measure shall not be subjected to judicial review.

Article 14. The present Emergency Measure shall be effective from 15:00 hours, May 13, 1975.

V. List of Japan-Resident Korean Political Offenders Now in Seoul Prison

Follows a list of Korean political prisoners from Japan.

So Sung (32) graduate student of Seoul University, life imprisonment.

So Jun Sik (28) student of Seoul University, 7-year prison term.

Choe Chol Gyo (45) businessman, death sentence.

Chin Du Hyon (52) vice-head of Tokyo headquarters of Mindan ("ROK" Residents Association in Japan), death sentence.

Kim Dal Nam (32) chief of youth section of Nagano headquarters of Mindan, life imprisonment.

Paek Ok Kwang (28) student of Seoul University, death sentence.

Kim Chol Hyon (30) student of "ROK" Theological University, life imprisonment.

Kim O Ja (25) coed of Pusan University, life imprisonment.

Kim Jong Tae (26) student of Seoul University, 10-year prison term.

Kim Won Jung (25) graduate student of Seoul University, 7-year prison term.

Choe Yon Suk (25) post-graduate student of national institute of Seoul University, 5-year prison term.

Kan Jong Gun (25) student of Koryo University, 5-year prison term.

Li Won I (24) student of Pusan University, 5-year prison term.

Kim Dong Hi (22) student of Catholic Medical College, 4-year prison term.

Chang Myong Ok (25) attache to "ROK" general-consulate of Osaka, 3-year-and-6-month prison term.

Chang Yong Sik (27) graduate student of Seoul University, 2-year prison term.

Li Chol (28) graduate student of Koryo University, death sentence.

Kang Jong Hon (25) student of Seoul University, death sentence.

Ryang Nam Guk (26) student of Seoul University, 10-year prison term.

Cho Dok Hun (24) research student of overseas institute of Seoul University, 7-year prison term.

Li Dong Sok (24) student of “ROK” Foreign Language College,
5-year prison term.